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News

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About this Publication . . .

NEWS FROM BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN, published monthly by the Research and Publications Service of the National Committee for a Free Europe, is distributed to a limited mailing list of those who have expressed specific interest in events and developments in Communist-dominated Europe. This bulletin is a compilation of material collected by the Committee for the use of Radio Free Europe and its other divisions and is being made available to representatives of the press and other media, to universities, churches, libraries, and research centers, and to other groups of citizens who want to know more about "Communism in practice." The publication is not an organ of editorial policy; wherever possible direct quotations have been used with a minimum of connective commentary. However, the Committee believes that accurate information contributes to an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the Communist system, and hence to the ability of the free nations to combat this system.

About the National Committee for a Free Europe . . .

The National Committee for a Free Europe was founded in 1949 by a group of private American citizens who joined together for direct action aimed at the eventual liberation of the peoples of the Iron Curtain countries. With the help of endowments and public contributions to the Crusade for Freedom, the Committee has set up, among other activities, Radio Free Europe. The Committee's efforts are focused on the captive countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In these efforts the Committee counts among its active allies the democratic leaders—scholars, journalists, political and economic experts, and men of letters—who have escaped from the Communist enslavement of their native lands.

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The Debasement of Sovereignty

I. METHODS OF SOVIET CONTROL

In the past month the preponderance of Soviet influence over the once independent nations of Central and Eastern Europe dominated any other single factor or trend discernible in the news from behind the Iron Curtain. Although no one event adequately symbolized the burden of the Kremlin imperialism which has been imposed on every facet of life in the captive countries, the cumulative effect of one item after another, official and unofficial, each of them variations on the same theme, would verge on monotony were it not significant to the story of what is happening to millions of human beings existing under tyranny.

The methods of Soviet control are neither few nor simple. Sometimes they take the form of mutual "friendship" pacts, such as those described immediately below. Sometimes they assume a legal guise, as in the case with Poland's new "Stalin Constitution." Sometimes they are more direct, through the presence of Russian "specialists," through overt propaganda campaigns or through pledges of allegiance to the USSR (as required of Czechoslovak troops). Often the methods of control rely in the last resort on the Cominform apparatus and on instructions given personally to high Party leaders under conditions of strict secrecy.

In January and February anniversaries of the "mutual cooperation" pacts concluded between the governments of Eastern Europe themselves as well as with the USSR occasioned numerous editorials stressing the allegiance of the Satellite regimes to the Soviet Union. Along with unqualified praise of Stalin, official propaganda organs conducted their concerted campaign by proclaiming "unshakable loyalty to the USSR," and advanced the unity of the Communist front as the major weapon in combating "Tito, German remilitarization and Western warmongering and imperialism."

On February 17, all Budapest daily papers devoted front page editorials to the fourth anniversary of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship and Mutual Aid Pact. According to *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), the pact was an "important milestone in the long history of Hungarian-Soviet friendship" and a formal recognition that the Hungarian people had become "free and worthy of accepting the extended right hand of the Soviet people":

"The USSR not only observes Hungary's independence, but helps to defend it. Only the support of the USSR enables Hungary to resist the base aggression of the imperialists. . . . The relationship between the USSR and Hungary is a model of a new kind of Socialist relationship between nations which have rid themselves of exploitation. . . . The sacred law on which Soviet-Hungarian friendship is based is that the stronger and more advanced country teaches, aids and protects the less advanced country and at the same time respects and keeps vigilant watch over the smaller country's national independence."

Earlier, *Szabad Nep*, January 29, celebrated the Hungarian-Romanian Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Pact:

"Today . . . our [mutual aid] pact possesses greater significance than ever. Today, when the warmongering beasts of Wall Street are again reviving Nazi militarism in West Germany, and when at the Southern frontiers of Hungary there lurks Tito, the vilest assassin in the pay of American imperialists, it is particularly essential for our peoples to join in a common front with the great army of the defenders of peace in unshakable loyalty to the Soviet Union."

In anticipation of the fourth anniversary of the 1948 Romanian-Soviet Friendship Treaty, *Scanteia* (Bucharest), February 3, published an article lauding the Soviet Union as the guardian of national sovereignty:

"The fact that the imperialist phase of capitalism is indissolubly linked with 'annexationist' tendencies and with the policy of destroying national sovereignty excludes any possibility of actual equality among states. . . . Only after the emergence of the Soviet State can one refer to a new and truly democratic meaning of the principle of equality among states and nations. The Soviet Union's brilliant application of such principles and [the nature of] her international relationships . . . are shown by her treaties of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance with the popular democracies. . . . [As a result of the February 4, 1948, treaty], our country has strengthened and consolidated her national independence and gained international prestige."

Pacts Based on Alliance with USSR

On the fourth anniversary of the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Pact with Hungary, Romania's Agerpress wire, January 24, emphasized the USSR's promotion and support of East European unity:

"The genuine fraternal friendship consolidated between our people and the Hungarian people . . . is a powerful weapon in the common struggle to build Socialism and to defend peace against the aggressive machinations of the imperialist warmongers. This friendship, built on a new social and political basis, is strong because it stems from friendship and common alliance with the Soviet Union, which constitutes for both peoples an inexhaustible source of power and security. . . . The frantic war preparations of the Belgrade gang, its hostile provocations at the borders of our countries, and its odious role in organizing counter-revolutionary plots in order to undermine the People's Regime . . . [are counteracted] by the joint resolution of these two peoples to defend their victories against imperialist remilitarization of West Germany . . . and the North Atlantic aggressive bloc, which greatly endangers world peace."

Similarly, Bulgaria's *Otechestven Front* (Sofia), January 16, called the 1948 Bulgarian-Romanian Agreement for Mutual Defense an important step in aligning the "Peoples' Democracies" with the Soviet Union to form a bulwark against "Western aggression":

"Four years ago, on January 16, 1948 an agreement for collaboration, friendship and mutual assistance was signed in Bucharest between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Republic of Romania. The decisive factor which made this agreement possible between the two neighboring and brotherly peoples was the historic victory of the great Soviet Union during World War II. The international significance [of the alliance] is especially important today when the Anglo-American imperialists and their lackeys in the Balkans—the Titoites—aim to handicap peaceful development in this part of the world, to start a new war and to revive the hateful dark past in countries of the People's Democracy. This agreement, as well as all similar agreements which unite the Peoples' Democratic countries with the great Soviet Union, are mighty barriers to the criminal plans of the warmongers."

On the third anniversary of the Polish-Romanian Friendship, Cooperation and Reciprocal Aid Agreement, *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), January 26, published an editorial entitled "Alliance in the Service of Peace":

"It is cooperation of a new type—cooperation among nations marching to Socialism—cooperation among nations that are members of the Peace Camp, led by the Soviet Union and the great Stalin. The agreement . . . expresses the good will of both nations to strengthen political, economic and cultural cooperation. [It also] expresses the common struggle for peace and the common struggle against the revival of German imperialism and militarism, which is now being realized by American warmongers in occupied Trizonia. The purpose of the agreement is . . . mutual aid in order to build Socialism in our countries by increasing production and deriving the maximum gain from the economic potentialities of Poland and Romania."

Stress "Unending Debt" to Soviet

The people of the captive countries are constantly reminded of their "unending debt" to the Soviet Union. In

describing the celebration of the fourth anniversary of the Romanian People's Republic on December 30, for instance, the Communist press boasted of the Soviet Union's decisive role in the establishment of that "People's Democracy." *Viata Capitalei* (Bucharest), January 2, commented:

"[Because they are] aware of the fact that the great event of the proclamation of the Romanian People's Republic could not have been possible without the liberation of our country by the heroic Soviet Army, [and because they realize] that the achievements of the People's Democracy are due to the fraternal and unlimited help of the Soviet Union, the workers attending the festivities elected, as head of the honorary presidium of the meeting, the great Stalin—genius, leader and teacher of working humanity, and dearest friend and father of our people."

"Long Live the Indestructible Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship"



Soviet heroes are almost invariably exalted at public meetings such as this celebration of Soviet-Bulgarian friendship. (Cut taken from Bulgaria's "Rabotnichesko Delo".)

No National Leader Predominates

A Romanian exile who has made a study of the January press treatment of top Communist personnel, has pointed out that the above article is typical in that it is Stalin rather than any one of the various Romanian leaders who receives extravagant official praise and attention:

"Another striking example of this is Miron Constantinescu's December 30 speech in commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the RPR; Gheorghiu-Dej is mentioned only twice (without any of the laudatory titles used on such occasions) and Stalin is mentioned more than eight times. This is especially significant in view of the fact that the speech was ostensibly made in celebration of an important date in Romanian history. This tendency, coupled with the fact that in the January press no one of the five top Party leaders—Ana Pauker, Gheorghiu-Dej, Vasile Luca, Emil Bodnaras or Josif Kisinevski—is consistently built up as the predominant leader, suggests that while Stalin is officially designated as Romania's 'saviour', no individual Romanian Communist is permitted to receive undue prominence. In

the January press the 'Big Five' received only general treatment. *Universul*, January 3, for instance, reported top Party members at a public meeting as follows: Gheorghiu-Dej, Teohari Georgescu, I. Kisinevski, Lotar Radaceanu, Gheorghe Apostol, Miron Constantinescu and Gheorghe Vasilichi. On the same day leaders at a gala reception of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were listed as Gheorghiu-Dej, Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca, Teohari Georgescu, I. Kisinevski, Chivu Stoica, L. Radaceanu, Al. Moghioros, Gh. Apostol, Emil Bodnaras, Miron Constantinescu and Gh. Vasilichi. At the latest Party functions, none of the leading five took the floor. The speaker on the 28th anniversary of Lenin's death on January 22, was Major General Alexandru Draghici, Assistant Minister of the Interior and a general in the police force.

"In January, as usual, telegrams printed in the newspapers congratulating Soviet leaders were signed either by Gheorghiu-Dej or Ana Pauker. Gheorghiu-Dej's name appeared also on the Joint Decision Decree of the Central Committee of the Party and on the Cabinet's monetary reform, announced in *Scanteia* on January 28. Aside from these occasions, Gheorghiu-Dej was mentioned in the newspapers only about a dozen times during the month and Ana Pauker about six. From this evidence, it is apparent that no Party member is allowed to take his position too 'seriously'."

Another Romanian source has supplemented this report with the following data on the growth of Communism and Soviet Control in Romania:

"The growth of the Communists' power in Romania began in 1944 when the Soviet Army entered the country and in the name of the Allies took over control. In 1944 and 1945 the Communists had a number of ministerial posts in the government. During this time they contrived, under the overtly exercised pressure of the 'Allied (Soviet) Control Commission,' to get hold of key positions in every section of the government. The army was recast with a Soviet-trained POW division as its nucleus; an NKVD type of secret police was set up under the personal leadership of Emil Bodnaras, trained in Moscow. With Soviet support, Communization of justice was started by setting up special 'war-criminal tribunals' composed of 'popular' judges who lacked all qualifications in law; 'spontaneous revolts' were staged by Teohari Georgescu, Assistant Minister of Internal Affairs, and 'strikes' by Gheorghiu-Dej and his colleagues in the Ministry of Industry. In this period the Communists made use of all disgruntled minority groups. Communists were imposed in all labor unions and professional organizations. The free supply of Romanian currency, allegedly provided for the 'needs of the Soviet Army,' put unlimited funds at the disposal of the Communist Party.

"Under the Groza government of March, 1945, the entire economy of the country was geared to 'partnerships' with the Soviet government. Into these, the Romanian government brought the best and most readily exploitable property of Romania, including the recently nationalized enterprises. The Soviets brought nothing, except their right to administer through Russian directors and share in the profits. On April 13, 1948, under

the new Constitution, the Soviet principle that the interests of the Party are paramount and supersede any and all legal provisions was adopted. By this time the State apparatus had been purged of all non-Communists and the new leadership continued to be purged with a view to keeping only the hardest core of 'pure' Communists in power. By 1951, however, even these did not seem to satisfy the Kremlin and, consequently, a considerable number of Soviet citizens have been appointed as 'high officials' (up to the rank of minister) and 'advisors' to control the administration."

Poland's "Stalin Constitution"

In Poland, the new draft Constitution, patterned closely on the Soviet Stalinist Constitution of 1936, was published in all newspapers of January 27. The preamble to the Constitution pays tribute to the Soviet Union for encouraging Polish national independence, which is, as one observer has commented, a unique statement for a national document:

"The historic victory of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics over Fascism liberated the Polish soil, enabled the Polish working people to achieve power, and created proper conditions for the national rebirth of Poland within its new and just frontiers. . . .

"The basis of the people's power in Poland is the union of the working class with the working peasantry. In this union, the leading role is played by the working class, which relies on the revolutionary achievements of the Polish and International Workers Movement and on the historical experiences of the victorious development of Socialism in the USSR, the first State of workers and peasants."

According to President Bierut, the aim of the Constitution is to preserve the achievements of the working people:

"The new Constitution should be . . . a charter preserving forever the victorious achievements and social gains of the Polish working people who have become the real masters of their country, the sole and free moulders of the destiny of the nation, guarantors of its growing strength, and infallible mainstays of its great future."

The first two chapters of the document state the Communist theory:

" . . . Laws of the Polish People's Republic are the expression of the working people's will and interests. . . . The Polish People's Republic limits and liquidates those social classes which live by the exploitation of workers and peasants. . . .

"The Polish People's Republic relies on the nationalized means of production, exchange, communications and credit, and develops the economic and cultural life of the country on the basis of a national economic plan, through the development of State Socialist Industry, the deciding factor in transforming civic and economic relations."

State Council Supreme

A Polish expert who has studied the text of the Constitution and analyzed some of its provisions comments:

"Some of the most interesting sections of the ten chapters of the draft Constitution deal with the powers of the Sejm and the State Council. As in the past, the people supposedly exercise their power through the Sejm, which is modelled on the Supreme Soviet in the USSR. The Sejm, however, has only one Chamber, like the Soviet National Republics, rather than the two Houses provided for by the Constitution of the USSR. The right of nominating candidates for the Sejm is delegated to 'political and civic organizations.' Since the draft Constitution elsewhere stipulates that: 'Setting up or participating in associations whose aim or activities are directed against the political and social system or the legal order of the Polish People's Republic is forbidden,' it is obvious that no political association besides the Communist Party will be permitted to function.

"Although the Sejm is supposedly the highest organ of the State, the chapter on 'Leading Organs of State Power' indicates that the State Council elected by the Sejm is actually supreme. The Council is composed of 15 members: a chairman, two deputies, a secretary and 11 members; and it performs the duties of the Head of State and of the legislature during the Sejm's recesses. (The Sejm is actually required to convene only twice yearly.) The State Council not only has the power to issue decrees having the validity of laws in periods between Parliament sessions, but also the power to interpret any law. Besides this, the State Council supervises the election of Sejm members, convenes its sessions, and can ratify or reject international agreements, nominate the highest State officers and declare war in case the Sejm is not in session. The State Council also exercises 'supreme supervision' over the work of local National Councils."

The report scores some of the more specific powers of the Sejm and the articles on "human rights":

"It is interesting to note that a Sejm member can be recalled by his electors, obviously, the Communist Party, and that in the period between Sejm sessions, his immunity may be cancelled by the State Council. The State Council nominates judges of the Polish Supreme Court for a five-year term rather than for life as was the case under former Polish Constitutions. The State Council also appoints and can dismiss the General Public Prosecutor. Thus it is apparent that the State Council, which has its counterpart in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, is really the chief ruling body in the State and combines functions previously divided between the Head of State, the legislature and the government.

"Other interesting Communist innovations are included in the chapter on the basic rights and duties of citizens. Every citizen, for example, is charged with 'the duty of vigilance with regard to the nation's enemies as well as the duty of preserving the secrets of State.' Another interesting provision is that not only a public prosecutor but also a judge has the right of detaining a person; thus the public prosecutor has rights that were previously granted only to independent judges.

"In brief, the draft Constitution aims at strengthening Communist hold on the country and Poland's ties with the USSR."

Sovietization in Czechoslovakia was highlighted when *Rude Pravo*, January 22, announced that troops take a loyalty oath to the Soviet Union as well as to their own country:

"Sunday, January 20, was a most important day for our Army. New recruits . . . appeared before their commanding officers to take the loyalty oath in the presence of their comrades and guests of honor from the working classes. They took the oath joyfully, aware that they were pledging allegiance to their own people . . . to the Soviet Union and to other allies."

Slansky Compared to Soviet Traitors

Recent charges by top Czechoslovak leaders against Slansky and other alleged conspirators underline their fate as scapegoats and confirm other reports asserting Moscow's dominant influence in Czechoslovak affairs. In *Rude Pravo* (Prague), February 8, for example, Minister of Justice Stefan Rais called purges and treason normal phenomena of the Socialist process and pointed to the Moscow trials as the source of his theory. The Minister asserted that Soviet experiences proved that all "conspirators" were capitalist agents and provided a model by which Czechoslovak traitors could be unmasked and eliminated:

"The long and rich experiences of the Bolshevik Communist Party prove that capitalism does not for a single moment cease its attempts to destroy the Socialist process by all kinds of . . . criminal methods. The Moscow trials have shown us that people who have started on the road to treason [eventually] join the worst enemies of Socialism. . . . For the Trotskyites, it was Nazi Germany; for the enemies of our Socialist process, the neo-Trotskyites, it is Truman's America—a more horrible imperialistic monster than Hitler's Germany. . . . The Moscow trials also proved that all those who join the road to treason aim, whether or not they admit it, at the revival of capitalism."

Rais accused "Slansky and Co." of an attempt to assassinate President Klement Gottwald:

"In order to conceal their subversive activities, [these enemies] disguise themselves as devoted Party members. . . . Slansky, in order to cover up his subversive activities, condemned his accomplices Sling and Svermova. . . . [In this country] the Trotskyite plotters planned the most terrible crime of all: the assassination of Comrade Gottwald, the heart and brain of our Party. [We also discovered] that the cosmopolites Slansky and Sling and the bourgeois nationalists, Clementis, Husak, Novomesky and others united for a common purpose. . . . Thanks to the experiences of the Bolshevik Communist Party and the devotion of our Party to the USSR and to Comrade Stalin . . . and [thanks to] Klement Gottwald's actions, Slansky, Sling, Svermova, Clementis, Husak, Novomesky and their helpers were caught. [Because of the knowledge gained from] the experiences of the Bolshevik Communist Party and the Soviet people . . . we shall not permit treason to settle again into our Party."

On January 24, Minister of Interior Vaclav Nosek blamed "Slansky and Company" for Czechoslovak eco-

conomic failures. In an article in *Tvorba* (Prague), Nosek exhorted all workers to unite in a greater production effort in order to "compensate for the damages caused by subversive activities and the interference of Party apparatus in State administration." Many observers have commented that the current purges and accusations are the results of Moscow's displeasure with Czechoslovak production, and trace the recent drastic actions to the Moscow intermediary, Soviet Ambassador Lavrentiev. Nosek's official Communist explanation, however, ran as follows:

"The shameful situation in the Ostrava-Karvinna mining region, for instance, is not without cause. Mistakes and inefficiency of economic organs as well as organs of the Party have brought this condition about. The effects of these mistakes . . . were multiplied . . . by the influence of a subversive group [which has been identified as] Svermova, Sling, Landa, Lomsky, Fuchs, Clementis and Co. They and their leader Rudolph Slansky have been unmasked and crushed.

"[Under Slansky] the Party apparatus often acted as if it were Party leadership. It suppressed elected organs and replaced directives from State and economic organs with orders from Party secretariats. . . . Ordinary Party activities were actually suppressed by dictatorial methods, and often, by open terrorism. These methods also diverted non-Communists from Party policy. One of the main methods [of the group of traitors headed by Slansky] was misuse of Party apparatus for the purpose of duplicating [the functions of] State and economic organs. To achieve their counter-revolutionary goals, the Trotskyite conspirators, besides using direct sabotage, tried to cripple the Party's ability to act and its power of attraction. . . . That convinced traitors and enemies of Socialism undertook such activities can be no surprise to us. They wanted to slow down the development of our heavy industry—which means our entire economy in order to weaken the camp of peace, [thereby] making it more vulnerable and increasing the hopes of warmongers. . . . Inasmuch as we know these facts, we must see in them a signal for a general falling into line of the Party, the trade unions, the miners, iron and steel workers, electricians, all technical and engineering cadres and all other honest citizens of this State. They must unite and quickly make good the damage done to our most exposed and sensitive Socialist front."

The System of Soviet "Specialists"

An exile has described the way in which the Soviet Union directs the activities of the Bulgarian Communist regime:

"Soviet control in Bulgaria is exercised mainly through the system of Soviet 'specialists' and through the Cominform. The Cominform issues orders to the Party for carrying out its policies through the Liaison Section of the Central Committee. The Central Committee in turn sends reports of its activities to the Cominform where these are carefully evaluated and criticized. The Cominform also determines special campaigns, such as 'aid to Korea', 'the peace campaign' and recruiting members for international brigades.

"Almost all important positions in the Party, the entire Central Committee and heads of the Army, Police and Economy, are in the hands of Bulgarian Communists who have been appointed by Moscow or by Soviet agencies such as the MVD. General Ivan Michailov, Vice-President of the Ministerial Council, General Peter Panchevski, Minister of War, and General Assen Grekov, for example, were transferred from the Soviet Army only a few years ago. 'Specialists' from the Red Army control all sections of the Ministry of War, i.e., military intelligence, political education, operations, etc. The transfer of men from the Soviet Army to the Bulgarian was promulgated by decree Number 132 of July 28, 1950, providing for extra payment to officers and generals who served in or were trained by the Soviet Army. Leadership of the People's Militia is also in the hands of Soviet 'specialists,' such as Minister of Interior Georgi Tzankov, who was trained in the Moscow MVD. The Inspectorate of Party Cadres of the Central Committee, which controls all activities of Party members, consists of MVD agents who prepare and carry out purges and direct leading Party cells. The Commission of State Control, which supervises the economy, is headed by another 'specialist,' Dimo Dichev, a Soviet agent for many years. Other Soviet 'specialists' head the Commission of Science, Art and Culture and have even been elected to the Bulgarian Academy of Science. These include Alexander Nesmeynov, Constantin Bikov and Alexander Oparin. Soviet komsomols use the DUPY [Dimitrov Union of People's Youth] to reeducate youth in Stalin's Communism. Some of their leaders are Zoya Toumanova, Nisnetzev and Solovod. And finally, all members of the Central Committee pledge fidelity to the Soviet Union with the oath: 'We are determined to remain true to the death to our genial teacher Stalin.'

"In addition to controlling Soviet 'specialists' in Sofia, Soviet architects, engineers, technicians and administrative personnel work in factories and other Bulgarian enterprises throughout the country. According to a Bulgarian mechanic who recently escaped, the salary of one Soviet mine director he knew was 250,000 leva a month, or ten times the salary of a Bulgarian mine director."

Deported Hungarians Replaced by Russians

A correspondent from Hungary has reported that an increasing number of Russians are replacing Hungarians who have been deported from Miskolc:

"As a result of the December, 1951 decree limiting residence in Miskolc to those who can prove that their presence in the city is absolutely necessary, many Hungarians have been deported. Residents claim that three trains of Soviet employees and their families have recently arrived and that the Russians took immediate possession of the vacated homes. There are also rumors that three other trainloads arrived soon after the first group. Russian is heard more and more in the city, but the Soviets have no contact with Hungarian residents, scarcely even with Communist leaders. Although older residents suffer from lack of food, the newcomers are privileged and receive ample rations."

According to an emigre, the Hungarian government has ceded border territory to the Soviet Union:

"The 1951 Handbook of Hungarian Statistics published the extent of Hungary's frontiers as 2241.6 kilometers in length. According to the 1948 Handbook, the length of the frontiers was 2263.6 kilometers. Thus there is now a discrepancy of 22 kilometers. The Handbook naturally vouchsafes no explanation. The loss of Hungarian territory took place on the Russian-Hungarian border. At the demand of the Soviet Union, a committee of Russians and Hungarians was formed to 'adjust' Hungary's Northeastern border. In other words, a portion of Hungary was simply annexed by the Soviet Union without the Hungarian press making the slightest mention of it."

Colonization of the Baltic States

If Soviet influence has permeated the nations of Eastern Europe, it has saturated the three Baltic States.

Because of severe restrictions imposed by Moscow authorities, information about Communist activities in Estonia, Latvia and especially Lithuania is incomplete and difficult to obtain. The reports that have been received, however, point to a greater degree of Russification and Sovietization in the Baltic area than anywhere else. In the political, economic and cultural fields, Soviet personnel, Soviet needs and Soviet ambitions receive top priority so that the three countries have become virtual colonies of the USSR.

In describing the Eleventh Party Congress in Riga, December 27-28, *Sovetskaya Latvija* (Riga) gave the percentage of Russian delegates:

"480 delegates were elected with voting rights and 118 with advisory voting rights. The percentage of voting delegates among various groups was as follows: workers, 43 percent; farmers, eight percent; government employees 49 percent. . . . Ten delegates had special Party education and 41 had graduated from the Party school in Latvia. Delegates belong to ten nationalities: 50 percent were Latvians; 40 percent were Russians; and ten percent were other nationalities. . . ."

An exile has given further information on the Congress:

"Among the 118 speakers at the Congress, only 49 were Latvians. The men elected to the Central Committee of the Communist Party were Kalnberzins, Totovs, Pelse, Litvinovs, Krumins, Tservikovs and Lacis. Of these seven, three are Russian Communists from Moscow, and a fourth, Pelse, is a Latvian who was born and educated in the Soviet Union. The first Secretary of the Party, Kalnberzins, who is a Latvian, also spent a long time in Russia and was graduated from the Party propaganda school."

Predominance of Russian Personnel

Another emigre has described Soviet control of the Estonian political apparatus:

"The great purge of leading circles of the Estonian Communist Party and the Soviet Estonian marionette government which began about one and a half years ago seems to be over. None of the former well-known Estonian Communists or their fellow-travelers are any longer in power. The result of the purge is that at present Russians and Estonians of Russian extraction predominate among Soviet Estonian leaders. Three of the six secretaries of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, for example, are Russians; two are Estonians of Russian extraction; and only one has lived in Estonia prior to the Communist regime. Eight of the 37 Ministers are Russians and more than ten are Estonians of Russian extraction. Of the 49 Vice-Ministers whose names are known 19 are Russians, and of the rest, more than half are Estonians of Russian extraction. Of the 115 members of the Estonian Supreme Council 25 are pure Russians who do not speak a word of Estonian. Seven of the 23 members of the Council of Trade Unions are Russians, and again, more than half are Estonians of Russian extraction. And finally, the majority of Communist Party members are Soviet functionaries."

Coincident with the Sovietization of Baltic political life is the intense Russification of Baltic culture. The Estonian *Rahva Haal*, January 16, for instance, announced that in 1952, the historically famous Estonian Song Festival will be dedicated to Stalin. Some of the prescribed songs are: "The Song About Stalin" . . . 'Hymn to Moscow' . . . 'The March of Soviet Youth' . . . 'Dear Stalin'." According to the art periodical *Sirp ja Vasar*, January 12, the Tallinn State Drama Theater, will shortly present plays in Russian as well as in Estonian. Other theaters are reserved solely for Russian drama groups. Concurrently, Soviet Russian teachers have reportedly been sent to Estonian schools, and *Rahva Haal*, January 31, underscored the importance of learning "Stalin's language":

"Teachers of the Russian language must explain to their pupils the universal importance of the great Russian language. It is the language spoken by the great genius of humanity, Lenin. It is the language in which Comrade Stalin addresses the laboring masses of the world. The Russian language helps the student to understand Russian culture . . . [and] to acquire knowledge of the world's most outstanding science [and] technique."

The Latvian *Cina*, January 4, stated the aims of education:

"The Pioneer Organization [pre-komsomol group] is of great importance in educating youth. Through [this organization] school children first enter social life and are educated in the spirit of Communist patriotism, in the spirit of friendship among nations, and are taught to love their Soviet country, the Communist Party and Comrade Stalin."

Radio Riga, February 8, described political education of kolkhoz members:

"To attain better results, courses for kolkhoz Party secretaries were organized in Riga. These courses lasted one month and were attended by 200 persons. The

students were introduced to the domestic and foreign politics of the Soviet Union [and] to propaganda methods and questions dealing with Party organizational work. . . ."

A report from Lithuania reveals the widespread use of Lenin's works:

"After the works of Lenin were translated, from five to twenty volumes were sent to every school library, every komsomol library and every public library in the towns and villages. The libraries had to buy these books with special funds while professional people, workers and kolkhoz members were obliged to buy every new volume through the trade unions and local secretaries of the Communist party. The sixth volume of Lenin's works came out last November. Stakhanovites are now rewarded for their efforts with red-and-gold bound editions of this volume. Every volume, however, has a bill attached to it amounting to ten rubles."

Shipments of food, materials and labor to the USSR and the ascendant position of Soviet personnel in agriculture and industry are other features of Baltic Sovietization. On January 31, for instance, *Rahva Haal* condemned the inefficiency of a chief Russian mechanic in the Estonian timber industry, indicating that the workers are answerable to their Soviet superiors in the Party:

"Dolgoplov is a Russian who apparently loves a comfortable life. One of his favorite pastimes is hunting . . . in the woods around Tartu. Unfortunately, he is the chief mechanic in the Tartu timber industry and is expected to organize and control repairs of trucks, especially at this time of year when the timber is to be fetched from the woods. But this is the season for deer hunting, [which is] far more important than [fetching] timber. Consequently, Dolgoplov takes his gun and is off. And more than half the trucks used in timber work are under repair. In the beginning of January, only one third of all the trucks could be used. . . . Last year a considerable amount of timber could not be fetched and was left lying about in the woods to rot. . . . Dolgoplov's [co-technicians] in five other sections do not seem to be any more efficient. [As a result of their neglect], on January 27, only 60 percent of all the trucks belonging to the centers were working."

Radio Tallinn, January 26, commended certain Stakhanovites, whose names are conspicuously Russian:

"The Estonian Shale Combine noticeably exceeded the fulfillment of its plans. . . . Among the Stakhanovite workers in the combine, many women are remarkable. Maria Lazonina works in place of two people and more than fulfills her duties. Communist youth Anna Novikova and Maria Nekrassova together accomplish the work usually assigned to three people."

Forced Labor and Deportations

A Lithuanian exile has given the following details on forced labor and deportations of workers to the USSR:

"This spring a two week period of 'public works' will

be organized in all cities and on all collective farms. The 'public works' will probably entail clearing land, preparing timber and erecting so-called 'Stalin buildings', which are probably government projects. No compensation will be given for the work. The organization of 'volunteer workers' is also expected to take place on a large scale. Laborers will be sent to work in Russia and Middle Asia, especially on the construction of canals and power plants in the Volga, Crimea and Turkmenia areas.

"Recently cases of theft have steadily increased in Lithuania because of the food shortage. Although Klaipeda fishermen catch sufficient amounts for the people, most of the fish is canned and shipped to the Red Army and Russian cities. Because workers in the canning plant often smuggle out fish, police have been stationed at factory exits and workers are searched almost every day. Anyone caught stealing is immediately arrested and sentenced by the People's Court to from three to seven years forced labor in the USSR."

An unconfirmed report about Soviet deportations of Lithuanians reads as follows:

"Not long ago, the Vatican Legation of Lithuania presented the Holy See with several documents asserting that the Soviet authorities had deported about 550,000 people from Lithuania. The documents also assert that in the last few years the Soviet Police have killed 50,488 Lithuanian citizens."

Exports to Soviet Union

The Latvian Radio Riga, January 29, reported that rush orders of timber were being prepared for shipment to the Soviet Union:

"The timber plant in Ugale has received a rush order to prepare 120 trainloads of timber destined for repairs in the Donbass mines [Russian Ukraine]. Lumber is being transported with the help of tractors. . . . Projectors are being placed over the ground where electric cranes load the timber on trucks."

Earlier, *Sovetskaya Latvija*, January 11, stressed the need to intensify lumber production:

"In Ventspils many trees are being felled. Several hundreds of workers from kolkhozes in Daugavpils, Dagda and Kandava have arrived. Nevertheless, felling and transportation problems have not been properly solved. . . . Workers have not been informed of the requirements and norms for the season's work. No attention has been paid to arranging necessary conveniences for workers. There are no sleeping facilities. Two meetings have been held by the Party District Committee and valuable proposals adopted, but these have not been put into action."

On February 4, Radio Riga had announced that the Soviet Union also received from Latvia large amounts of canned goods, cheese, textiles, beer and tobacco, while reports from Lithuania claim that large quantities of grain are shipped to the USSR:

"The amount of grain shipped from Lithuania to the

Soviet Union increased last year by 100,000 tons, which were delivered to workers on the Crimea and Volga canals. Grain from Klaipeda is sent in Soviet vessels to Leningrad at the rate of one ship every three to seven days. 11,000 metric tons of grain from Lithuania were also shipped to India during September, 1951, as a 'gift from the Soviet Union to the starving masses'."

Kolkhozes Bear Russian Names

A correspondent has reported on Estonian kolkhozes named after Soviet leaders:

"The names of Estonian kolkhozes provide a most interesting picture of Communist propaganda and of the strict hierarchy existing in the Soviet system. Stalin has 26 or 27 kolkhozes dedicated to him; Lenin has 25; Marx, six and Engels but two. The kolkhozes named after Stalin are larger than the other kolkhozes in the country, and are in the most fertile areas. Whereas ordinary kolkhozes have some 120 cows, Stalin kolkhozes have from 450 to 700. Workers on Stalin kolkhozes receive higher wages than workers on other kolkhozes. Stalin kolkhozes are never criticized in the press and are invariably run by well-known active Communists. Other living Soviet leaders also have kolkhozes dedicated to them: Molotov has nine kolkhozes named after him; Voroshilov, seven. Zhdanov, who in 1940 accomplished the Sovietization of Estonia, has six. Other kolkhozes with Russian names are Stalingrad, Volga, Ukraine, Gorki, Pushkin and Lysenko. Not one single kolkhoz, however, has been named after a living Estonian except for the Soviet Union wrestling champion Johannes Kotkas."

Despite the great degree of Soviet and Party control, however, the "road to Communism" is not without obstacles. Recent items in the Latvian press indicate that the main barrier to collectivization is the great distance between existent farm buildings. Radio Riga, February 3, announced that the government had provided funds to be loaned for moving separate farm properties to proposed collective farm sites:

"The existence of separate farms hinders the rapid development of kolkhozes and the rise of production because too much time is spent in servicing separate cattle farms . . . scattered throughout [the region]. The building of settlements will greatly improve conditions. This year special funds have been approved by the Communist government for constructing kolkhoz settlements. Long term loans up to 2,000 rubles per house hold are being granted for moving separate farm holdings to a settlement. Those peasants who do not own farm properties will be granted 7,000 rubles, to be repaid in eight years, for constructing them."

Sovetskaya Latvija (Riga), January 18, reported difficulties in establishing these settlements:

"The administrator of the Soviet Latvia kolkhoz . . . refused to provide quarters for draftsmen. They will thus have to look for quarters in a neighboring kolkhoz. . . . The administrator of the Balvi district kolkhoz, Lenin's Way, did not even participate in drafting plans."

The Latvian *Cina* (Riga), January 19, attacked the Iljic kolkhoz in Kandava for low production:

"In several instances the land has not been distributed according to regulations and one family was allowed two strips of garden land. . . . The seeding of green fodder has been only 30 percent accomplished; the harvest . . . has been very low—400-450 kgs per hectare. The ploughing is only 56 percent complete; timber preparing, four percent. There have been 10,000 workdays less than planned. This is the result of many farmers not complying with the plan. For example, the healthy and well-built Antons Cinis has not worked at all. Ilmars Antons, a young farmer, has worked only 100 days; Vera Renne, only 43 [followed by a list of other names]. Cattle are kept in unsatisfactory quarters which are in 20 different places on the kolkhoz. The new stables, as stipulated by the plan, have not been erected."

According to information from Sweden, the Estonian Communist press has recently condemned low membership in the Communist Party:

"Recently the first secretary of the Party Regional Committee in Rakvere, the Russian Grigori A. Bolshagin, announced that 68 persons had joined the Party during 1951, but that 40 percent of all Party cells had not gained one new member. Workers, in particular, have been condemned for their failure to join. During the past four years, for instance, the large *souchoz* [State farm] in Vinni and the regional highway department did not contribute one member to the Party. According to an official press announcement, only one person from the Tartu Academy of Science joined in 1951, and in the Institutes for Physics, Mathematics and Mechanics not one single person is a Party member."

II. ORGANS OF STATE POWER

Just as the Satellite regimes are used as the funnels of Soviet power, so the national institutions within each captive country are used as organs of State authority. In recent weeks, State domination has been enhanced by new Communist measures and statements of government policy. In Bulgaria, the press outlined the hierarchy of leading Party organizations supporting Socialism; in Czechoslovakia, new purges continued to rage in the State administration; in Hungary, a new decree was passed nationalizing a large category of buildings; and Communist reporters in both Romania and Hungary were extolled as important agents of the State in "unmasking the furtive enemy."

In an article entitled "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat," *Troud* (Sofia), February 7, asserted the supremacy of the Bulgarian Communist Party and listed the main organs sustaining Communist power:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat represents a special form of class unity between the workers and the working peasantry, headed by the working class and its 'Communist Party.' [This] Party does not share and cannot share leadership of power with other classes and parties. . . . The Bulgarian Communist Party would not have been in a position to realize a leading role in the

system of the people's democratic form of dictatorship of the proletariat if it did not rely on the most active assistance of mass laboring organizations, or as Lenin calls them, 'levers' or 'transmissions.' Thus, Trade Unions . . . link the Party with the working class . . . on the productive line; Councils of Deputies of the laboring class . . . connect the Party with the working people [in matters of] State policy; the Dimitrov Union of the People's Youth . . . was created to help the Party in the Socialist education of new generations and in training new cadres; the cooperative . . . links the Party with the rural masses . . . [in reference to] economic policy; the Fatherland Front—the largest organization, supports the People's Democratic regime; and the Bulgarian Communist Party—the highest power in the system, [was] created to lead mass organizations. Such is the general picture of the 'mechanism' through which the working class realizes its dictatorship. Thus the Bulgarian Communist Party achieves unity in the activities of the various organizations of the working classes from the city and villages, and directs their work toward the Communist goal—building Socialism and the Communist Society [with] the unselfish aid of the powerful and Great Soviet Union."

A Bulgarian refugee has given the following information on the above-mentioned Fatherland Front:

"The entire life of the ordinary non-Communist Bulgarian is supervised by the Fatherland Front. Without membership in the Fatherland Front, there is no work, no ration card, no living quarters and no end to the constant specter of arrest. 'Enemies of the regime' are excluded from the organization and anti-Communist opposition is crushed by slow starvation, imprisonment or forced labor.

"At the lowest organizational level, the Fatherland Front unit numbers some hundred adults in any given residential district. The president must be a Party man or at least a well-known Communist sympathizer. The local Fatherland Front disseminates Party propaganda by means of conferences and affiliated organizations. Attendance at conferences which are held at least every two weeks is obligatory. At the meetings, a member reports on recent political events. Since the speaker is always notified at the last moment, it is obvious that the purpose of this device is to force members to read the official papers. Everyone must subscribe to at least one of these. Besides this, there are lectures and discussions based on Communist themes. The local Fatherland Front unit also appoints a 'responsible' person for every phase of Communist propaganda. One task, for instance, is placing posters in important areas of the district. Another, is forming 'educational circles' devoted to the study of the lives of the 'great Communist leaders,' and to courses in Marxist doctrine which every member must pass. 'Responsible persons' also coach agitators who then make a round of neighborhood houses for the purpose of selling government subscriptions, such as the National Loan or 'aid to fighting Koreans,' and enlisting people in 'voluntary brigades.' By organizing meetings and courses and by conducting various campaigns the local unit manages to control all the 'free hours' of every Fatherland Front member."

Control Through Legal Manipulations

The Bulgarian *Izvestia* (Sofia), January 22, published a decree transferring the right to interpret laws from the courts to the Presidium of the National Assembly:

"Obligatory interpretations of laws . . . are issued by the Presidium of the National Assembly. The Presidium of the National Assembly collects materials for the interpretation of decrees in any manner which it finds suitable . . . and issues decisions determining the meaning of interpreted laws. Everyone must obey these decisions. . . . The Presidium of the National Assembly can [also] refuse to give an interpretive decision."

A Bulgarian exile has provided supplementary information on the Communist judicial system:

"The right of the Presidium of the National Assembly to deny or issue legal interpretations is merely one of many similar Communist innovations. After the Communist *coup d'etat* on September 9, 1944, the Communists completely changed Bulgaria's legal system. Anti-Communist lawyers were barred from the profession, and it was stipulated that the counsel for defense had no right to question facts brought forth by the prosecution and that all evidence presented by the militia or other security organs must be considered absolute proof. In order to accelerate legal procedure and to make certain that all decisions are final, the Court of Appeals was abolished. The Communists also instituted a new system of legal procedure whereby unqualified 'court members' were given rights equal to those of judges. 'Court members' are always Party members. When a 'court member' is summoned to a tribunal, he is briefed by the Party Committee, informed of the 'political aspects' of the case, and told to memorize the accusations against the victims. Naturally, the verdict of the courts is always in full accordance with the aims of the Party. In the period between October, 1944, and April, 1945, for example, the People's Courts in Bulgaria condemned 1,900 men to death."

Control Through Liquidation

During the past month, the Czechoslovak government's program of streamlining State administration and increasing production has resulted in more purges and a continued campaign against "cosmopolites." The latest victim of the anti-Semitic dismissals is reportedly Gustav Bares, the Jewish editor-in-chief of *Tvorba*. A dispatch from Athens said that since February 16, when the weekly was suspended, Bares has been under house arrest. This information is supported by the fact that Bares' name was not listed on the masthead of *Tvorba's* February 14 issue. According to the Athens correspondent, Prime Minister Zapotocky has stopped publication of *Tvorba* because of its "inexplicit but obvious pro-Jewish sentiment."

Two other victims of the campaign are allegedly Rudolph Margolius, acting Minister of External Trade, who was arrested for high treason; and Ludvik Frejka, formerly Gottwald's chief economic adviser, who was purged from the Party and arrested for "conspiring against the State." An exile who knew both men has furnished the following biographical data:

"Both men are of Jewish origin. Frejka is an old-time Communist. Prior to World War II, he worked as a journalist and specialized in economics. At the outbreak of the war, he fled to England and was an active member of the Czechoslovak political emigration in London. After the war he held a prominent position in the Central Secretariat of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in Prague. Later, as an economics expert, he became adviser to Gottwald, who was then Prime Minister. When Gottwald was elected President, Frejka became chief of the economic division in the Chancellery.

"Rudolph Margolius, a lawyer of about 40 years of age, was a prisoner in German concentration camps during World War II. Subsequently, he became an official in the Czechoslovak Ministry of Trade. Until the Communist *coup d'etat* in February, 1948, he was not politically active. Then, however, his advance was spectacular. He was appointed Chief of Section, then Chief of Division, and finally, in 1949, Deputy to the Minister. Both he and Frejka were undoubtedly purged as a consequence of the outspoken anti-Semitic policy of the Czechoslovak government."

Yugoslavia's *Slovenski Porocevalec* (Ljubljana), January 31, attributed the purges of Bares, Kopriva, Frejka and Margolius to Moscow and added:

"The purges [in Czechoslovakia] appear in different forms, i.e., arrests, voluntary resignations, recalls of diplomats to Prague, demotions [and are characteristic] of all Cominform countries. . . . Such is the destiny of all executioners who took orders 'from above' without hesitation, and who denounced and even purged their best friends in order to insure themselves a 'safe and better place in the Moscow province.' But when the wagon begins to roll downhill, it is difficult to stop it."

Brno Ideological Conference

Another significant incident in the anti-cosmopolite campaign is the current ideological conference at the Military-Technical Academy in Brno. Although a full report has not yet been received, *Rude Pravo*, February 5, gave some details on the meeting:

"At this conference, which was suggested by the Military-Technical Academy . . . the decisive struggle against cosmopolitanism and bourgeois scientific objectivism will begin. . . . The main report, 'Cosmopolitanism, Proletarian Internationalism and Socialist Patriotism,' will be given by Vaclav Kopecky, Minister of Information and Enlightenment. . . . There will also be other reports on 'The Predominance of Soviet Military Science over Bourgeois Military Doctrines' . . . and 'Marx-Lenin Ideology and Party Organization as the Basis for the Development of Natural and Technical Science'."

An exile has suggested that the conference is probably a preparation for future purges in the Army. This statement is supported by a February 27 item from Vienna reporting that Col. General Jaroslav Prochazka, Czechoslovak Army Chief of Staff and a former close associate of Rudolf Slansky, has been replaced by Major General Vaclav Kratochvil. (Vladimir Prochazka, brother of Jaroslav, has not yet returned from sick leave in Czechoslovakia

to his post as Ambassador to the US. Exiles comment that his illness is apt to be prolonged.) According to the report, the replacement of Col. General Jaroslav Prochazka was announced at the ideological conference along with the removal of Deputy Minister of Defense Col. General Bohumil Lastovicka.

Other officials who have been reported dismissed as a result of the government's program of streamlining State administration are: Dr. Jiri Kotatko, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, who has been demoted to his former post in the editorial office of the agricultural daily *Zemedske Noviny*; Jiri Chalupa, chief of Protocol at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who is said to have been arrested last October; and Emil Jelinek, official in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and a leading Communist functionary. An exile has pointed out that Kotatko, "as a leading official in the Ministry of Agriculture, was evidently removed as a result of his close collaboration with former Minister Julius Duris."

Czechoslovakia Strengthens State Organs

Radio Prague, February 15, gave further information on the reorganization of National Committees (Regional, District, Local), which confirms previous reports explaining the change as an attempt to strengthen State administration against the divergent interests of local Party groups:

"Local secretaries have either taken up their posts at Local National Committees or will do so in the very near future. . . . It is their task to carry out the Committees' decisions and thus . . . the decisions of the government. Being strangers [in the area] they will be in a position to notice all shortcomings . . . which were unobserved by National Committee officers who spent all their lives in the locality in question. They will not be influenced by relatives, friends or enemies, and therefore will be in a position to settle many affairs which so far have escaped solution."

Straz Severu (Liberec), February 3, urged National Committees to use the powers granted to them under the Administrative Criminal Act of August 1, 1951, in order to increase farm production. The newspaper recommended exhortation rather than harsh penalties as the means to accomplish this end:

"It has been ascertained by investigation that the Administrative Criminal Act, which is an effective measure against the class enemy, has not been used to its full extent by District National Committees and their penal commissions. . . . The punishment of public reprimand and the institution of suspended punishment have not yet become popular. . . . District National Committees did not make use of the administrative act as an instrument for educating offenders. . . . From a class point of view, false methods in cases of punishment for non-fulfillment of production . . . are evident everywhere. By these methods, small holders and middle farmers are driven directly into the ranks of wealthy farmers instead of being educated by the right class methods of punishment."

Hungarian Decree Nationalizes Homes

All Budapest newspapers of February 19 published the text of a decree issued by the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic providing for government expropriation of privately owned apartment houses and a large category of other buildings. The "constitutional" basis for the decree quoted in part below, was stated as paragraph three of the Hungarian Constitution which stipulates that "The Hungarian People's Democracy will defend the freedom and power of the working people, and the independence of the country. Fighting all types of exploitation, it will organize the forces of society in order to build Socialism." The decree reads as follows:

"Some house owners do not attend even to the most essential repairs. As such properties have an economic value for the People's Republic . . . the Presidium of the Hungarian People's Republic, with a view to safeguarding our people's economy from losses resulting from further deterioration . . . and in order to put a stop to property income secured without labor by elements of the former ruling class . . . promulgates the following in accordance with paragraph three of the Constitution:

"In accordance with the provisions of this law, effective immediately, the following properties and all their appurtenances become state property:

"All privately owned houses [homes, villas, apartments, offices, workshops, warehouses, etc.] from which, or from parts of which, rents are derived; buildings owned by capitalists, exploiters and other elements which oppressed the people under the overthrown social regime, even in the event that rents are not derived therefrom. The State will assume the relationship existing between former owners and tenants or employees. The employees of properties expropriated by the State [superintendents, assistant superintendents, stokers, mechanics, etc.] will, on the day the decree goes into effect, become State employees responsible to the State under the provisions of the Penal Code. . . Anyone violating the provisions of this decree . . . may be sentenced to a maximum of three years imprisonment."

A decree published in the December issue of *Magyar Kozlony* by the Minister of Internal Trade contained the following broad-minded provision:

"Women living on their wages as well as wives of workers living on their wages are entitled from the seventh month of their pregnancy [on] to purchase 18 diapers at a 50 percent discount in all retail and cooperative stores by means of purchasing slips issued for this purpose. Special 'advisers for pregnant women' . . . will certify whether or not the expectant mother is entitled to this privilege."

Exile experts say that previously such certificates were issued by physicians. One of these had said that "the reason for the change may lie in the fact that whereas physicians did not discriminate between Party and non-Party patients, special Party 'advisers' will have the power to issue certificates only to those who follow the Party line."

State Labor Camps

An exile has made the following study on concentration camps in Hungary, which supply the government with forced labor and are repositories for "unreliable elements":

"In Hungary there are two types of concentration camps: permanent forced labor camps, and other so-called mobile camps for government construction in various parts of the country. In the first group is a camp in Recsk which is under the management of Soviet officers, and whose inmates, numbering about 3,000-4,000 are political prisoners. Nobody is permitted to approach this camp, which is heavily guarded by Russians. Another camp of this type with 2,000-3,000 prisoners is in Harta. In Kistarcsa there is a camp with about 2,200 prisoners and near Vac, a camp with about 1,700. The largest transit camp is in the vicinity of Ungvar with approximately 8,000-9,000 inmates. The latter, plus a camp in Zahony and another in Nyiregyhaza are near the Russian frontier. The Nyiregyhaza camp has about 1,000 former members of the police. There are several camps near Debrecen which are composed mainly of kulaks and rightist Social Democrats. A camp near Salgotarjan houses chiefly workmen charged with sabotage, nuns, monks and priests. Other well-known camps in the first group are near Polgardi, Kotelek, Szaszberék, Ujfeherto, Baracska, Miskolc, Jaszfenysaru, Balmazújvaros, Hajdunanas, Szilvasvarad, Tiszavarkony, Kunmadaras, Kecskemet, Hunya, Komlobanya, and Delapattfalva.

"In the second group are notorious camps for construction work: one near Szabadszallas, another near Oroszlany for mining construction; a third near Kecskemet for airport construction and a fourth in Kalocsa for apartment building. In addition, other prisoners are working on the Dunapentele Iron Works and the Inota Power Plant."

Correspondents Used As Spies

The role of Hungarian newspaper correspondents as agents in enforcing Party discipline was described by Communist organs during February on the occasion of the first national conference of worker and peasant correspondents. *Nepszava*, February 3, called the reporters: ". . . the eyes of the nation; they must detect shortcomings. . . . They must not flinch from fighting the enemy, as they can be certain that the Party is behind them." *Szabad Nep*, February 2, gave a more colorful description of the correspondents' activities:

"Correspondents alertly roam the factories; their sharp eyes find the flaws and help unmask the furtive enemy attacking rat-like. . . . On more than one occasion [our correspondents] helped to sweep unworthy elements from our factories—men of filth who had sought to ruin our workers' heroic efforts."

Similarly following the Soviet example, the principal Communist newspapers in Romania have appointed innumerable "voluntary correspondents" whose function it is to "criticize" activities throughout the country. The unpopularity of the system of correspondents is indicated by

a long article in *Scanteia*, January 18, entitled "There Is No Excuse for Persecuting Voluntary Correspondents":

"*Steaua Rosie* [Party organ for the County of Alba, Transylvania] published . . . a letter from Comrade Ioan Miga [a railway employee] showing that as a result of defective planning and lack of interest on the part of the management of the Nicolae Balcescu Mills of Alba Iulia freight cars are kept in the station many days after they have been loaded. . . . Comrade Aron Dud, regional manager of the Romanian National Railroads could not forgive the 'effrontery' of comrade Miga. . . . On June 18, Miga was sent to Timisoara to undergo medical examination for alleged 'insanity.' The doctors found him fit for work and sent him back. [Then] he was sent to the Mental Clinic in Bucharest, and later to the Psycho-Technical Institute with the same results. A few days later, *Scanteia* was informed that as a result of disciplinary action, he had been transferred to another post, being guilty of insulting high officials of the Railroad Administration. True, Comrade Miga has shown serious deficiencies in his professional activity. However, those who, invoking some past or recent mistakes of a voluntary correspondent, attempt to censor or persecute him, are guilty of an act gravely damaging to the regime of the People's Democracy, guilty of a serious infringement of the decisions of Party and government."

Viata Capitalei, January 9, listed other examples of "poor treatment" of correspondents. Under the headline, "Persecuting Correspondents Is a Barbarous Feature Which Has to Be Uprooted," the newspaper deplored, among other things, a demand to remove a lampoon of a nurse from a factory wall because it was "damaging to her reputation."

Romanian Organs "Safeguarding" Socialism

As described by the Romanian press, the Militia is another important means of enforcing Party policy and keeping a constant check on all strata of society. *Scanteia*, January 23, published an article by Pavel Cristescu, Lt. General of the Militia, defining the organization's role as "safeguarding" Socialism:

"[The main tasks of the Militia are] repressing criminal intrigues of the class enemy, maintaining public peace and order, crushing without mercy criminals and the class enemy, and protecting the wealth and liberties of the workers. . . . The Militia identified itself with the ideals of those who are building a new life in our country . . . and proved to be a vigorous organ of the State machine by its 'conception and style of work'—a strong machine based on rigorous discipline. . . . The Militia strikes mercilessly at the kulaks who are sabotaging the enthusiastic efforts of the workers in building Socialism and sees that government decisions are literally applied. . . . In all its activities the Militia follows Party and government advice. Three years ago, when the Militia was organized, Comrade Teohari Georgescu [Minister of Interior] said that the Militia 'will be able to accomplish its difficult tasks if it knows how to carry out its activities by attaching itself to the workers by thousands of

threads. . . .' Today, these ties with the masses have become a reality."

A Romanian exile has prepared the following report on the State Control Commission, which is the main Party organ for controlling economic production and administration:

"The State Control Commission has the power to investigate all other government organizations. When it was instituted in 1949, the role of the Commission was allegedly to enforce the responsible management of public property and to ensure the proper functioning of the State machine. In a July, 1951 decree, the Commission was given the task of unmasking and eliminating all hostile elements which had infiltrated the State administration. At present, the Commission is also responsible for the proper execution of government decisions, for regulating the management of government properties and checking and approving the draft of the general budget prepared by the Council of Ministers. The Commission gives a periodic account of its activities to the Council of Ministers and has its own budget which is included in the annual budget presented by the government. Two specific tasks of the Commission are taking action against those accused of negligence, and eliminating deficiencies in various sectors. Since the People's Militia fulfills similar functions, it is evident that there are several counterchecks made on all government personnel and that nobody is considered 'trustworthy' by the Communist regime."

III. MILITARY DEVELOPMENTS

Reports on military events in Hungary and Bulgaria describe field exercises, new installations and continued Soviet influence. Bulgaria's *Vecherni Novini* (Sofia), January 17, published a long article on the annual meeting of the DOSO (Volunteer Organization for Defense). Among other things, the newspaper described the political education and training of members:

"... patriotic education of DOSO members . . . is thoroughly discussed at . . . annual meetings. DOSO members are educated to love and to be loyal to the Party and Comrade Vulko Chervenkov, and to the Soviet Union and the great Stalin. . . . In their conferences . . . DOSO branch organizations analyze ideological-political work of groups in sports shooting [anti-aircraft and chemical defense], radio signaling and plane and ship modeling. [They also decide on methods of] popularizing Soviet and Bulgarian technical inventions and promoting Soviet and Bulgarian heroism in defending the fatherland. . . ."

On January 20, *Vecherni Novini* gave additional information on DOSO activities:

"A great many young Bulgarians . . . attend parachute courses organized by DOSO. In 1951, the number of people learning to parachute increased severalfold over 1950. . . . Amateur parachutists, after mastering the parachute sport, are immediately drafted into courses in

glider flying, while others are taught to become regular pilots."

Special Privileges for Soviet Officers

A recently escaped Bulgarian soldier has reported on the privileges of Soviet officers and Communist Party members in the Army:

"Only a small minority of the recruits, who are mostly farmers' sons, are convinced Communists. In general, the soldiers oppose the regime and sympathize with the opposition. Soldiers who are Communist Party members receive better treatment than the others and discipline among them is very lax. The uniform of Bulgarian soldiers is almost exactly like Soviet Army uniforms. Each Bulgarian regiment has two Soviet officers above the rank of colonel who wear uniforms of the Red Army. One of the Soviets is in charge of technical matters and the other is in charge of political affairs. Both enjoy privileged positions. Their salaries are about four times higher than those of comparable Bulgarian officers and they and their families receive special food and clothing rations and better housing facilities. The majority of soldiers resent their authority, and discontent among the troops is widespread."

A Bulgarian refugee has described Soviet submarine bases on the Black Sea coast:

"At Sozopol there is a Soviet submarine base and consequently, the area has been declared 'closed to private individuals.' Another prohibited zone is the Bay of Galata near Staline, where Soviet engineers, assisted by Russian technicians, are building another submarine base."

A Hungarian refugee reports on parachute maneuvers at Debrecen Airfield:

"Members of the parachute brigade of the Freedom Fighters Organization in Debrecen have recently been practicing night jumps at Debrecen Airfield. The parachutists jump from Russian transport planes at an altitude of 1,000 meters. Russians conduct the operations. So far, 36 women members have won the parachute insignia."

Another emigre has written the following about the Hungarian anti-aircraft corps:

"Hungarian military experts believe that in the event of war, Hungary is totally unprepared to repulse air attacks. Anti-aircraft drills will consequently be held throughout the year. At present, anti-aircraft units are provided with only light and medium equipment and recruits are completely untrained. Headquarters of the light anti-aircraft artillery corps is located in Budapest. The corps is composed of light-artillery divisions stationed at Vac and at Szekesfehervar, and medium-heavy artillery divisions at Szolnok and Dumafoldvar. Light artillery divisions are provided with 24 rapid-fire 37 mm. cannons. The 800-850 members of the divisions are armed with rifles and Soviet-manufactured automatic pistols. The divisions are also provided with about 11 radio sets."

IV. PROPAGANDA ATTACKS AND DENUNCIATIONS

Communist propaganda lines followed the usual pattern of vicious anti-American denunciations, particularly in respect to this country's role in the United Nations and in expediting the creation of the European Army. Considerable space was also devoted to attacks against the London conference of the East and Central European Commission.

In an editorial entitled "Significant Success in the Struggle for Peace," Hungary's *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), January 27, praised Soviet efforts to prevent the UN from becoming a "tool of American imperialists." The newspaper counted the UN acceptance of the Soviet draft proposal for the admission of fourteen nations to the UN as an important Soviet victory in the "fight for peace":

"This was a great success in the struggle waged by the Soviet Union against Americanization of the UN and against American attempts to convert the UN from an organ of peace and cooperation into an organ of imperialist war policy. The real question underlying the debate about the admission of the fourteen nations is the role of the UN. Is the UN to be a second Atlantic Organization . . . or an organ for international cooperation? An American voting machine or a world organization capable of making serious efforts to maintain peace? Will it pave the way for 'collective measures' such as the . . . war against Korea, or will it be capable of bridging the gaps of international differences and creating conditions for cooperation between the two camps? The Soviets aim to preserve the UN and to restore its international significance and authority. . . . US representatives [on the contrary] hinder everything that promotes international cooperation, that serves the cause of peace or that strengthens the UN."

Otechestven Front (Sofia), January 25, also praised the Soviet delegation to the United Nations:

"Last night [at a meeting of] the Sofia City Committee for the Defense of Peace . . . Comrade Dimitar Bratanov gave a report on the struggle for peace which the Soviet delegation is waging at the Sixth Session of the United Nations. . . . 'The Soviet Delegation and the speeches of Vishinsky in the United Nations,' said Comrade Bratanov, 'have historic significance in unmasking the aggressive plans of the imperialist countries, strengthening the peace campaign and uplifting the spirit of the supporters of peace and friendship among people.'"

European Army an "American Ruse"

The Hungarian *Nepszava* (Budapest), February 7, castigated the plan for a West European Army:

"This plan is a scheme conceived by Americans to deceive the peoples of Western Europe and to integrate and reorganize Nazi divisions into Eisenhower's Atlantic Army, established for the purpose of furthering the

aggressive schemes of the Americans. . . . The aim of the American imperialists . . . is to smuggle SS bandits . . . into the Atlantic Pact . . . to place Nazi generals at the head of French troops, to enable the US to take over the Armed Forces of the States of Western Europe and to use them, independently of their own governments, for the unleashing of a new World War. . . ."

As reported by Romania's Agerpress wire, January 26, the Foreign Ministry has published a book entitled *The Aggressive Policy and Machinations of American Imperialism against the RPR* protesting US interference in Romanian affairs. Excerpts from the commentator's summary of the document follow:

"Reviewing the facts unveiled during the trials which took place in the RPR against spies and traitors . . . [one] chapter conclusively states that 'the threads of each espionage . . . organization discovered in our country during the past seven years invariably led to the American espionage services.' . . . [Another excerpt from the book says:] 'Every time Anglo-American espionage hatched a subversive action against the RPR democratic regime, the American and British governments raised the problem of "human rights," resuming their lies and slanders in order that arrest of the guilty should not be the consequence of crimes perpetrated by them, but proof of a violation of human rights.' . . . [The objects of US policy are clear:] to draw the UN into a campaign hostile to countries of the People's Democracy, to use the UN as an instrument of pressure against these countries, and to convert the UN into a means of propaganda to support the aggressive policy of the Anglo-American bloc. The concluding chapter states . . . that ruling American circles, through representatives and espionage services, have become accomplices of agents of Hitler in Romania, chieftains of reactionary parties who have gathered around them fascist remnants and anti-democratic elements, hatching plots, preparing crimes and *coups d'état* in order to install . . . reactionary and warmongering governments. . . . The aggressive policy of the US government against the RPR does not constitute an isolated fact, but is part and parcel of the plan of aggression and expansion . . . of American imperialism over the entire world."

The Czechoslovak *Svet Prace*, January 24, commented on the "symbolic" meaning of the Communist spy trials:

"Let the court sentences in Czechoslovakia and other popular-democratic states be a warning not only to the servants of American imperialists but also to the gentlemen from Wall Street. . . . The death sentences given to the petty servants of the imperialistic monster only augur the monster's eventual annihilation. . . . [Actually,] terrorists, saboteurs, diversionists and spies share the court bench with the invisible Uncle Sam—symbol of American imperialism. . . . Uncle Sam . . . cannot be sentenced to death . . . but according to all the laws of civilized countries, the instigator of a crime is more culpable than its perpetrator."

London Conference Denounced

One of the main targets of anti-West propaganda during recent weeks was the London conference of the East and

Central European Commission of the European Movement which took place during January 21 through January 24. In this connection the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency, February 4, condemned the British government for its support of political exiles:

" . . . All sorts of fascist elements and fomenters of a new war who escaped from Bulgaria and other Peoples' Democracies took part in this conference at which the question of subversive activities aimed against the legally established governments in the Peoples' Democracies . . . and the restoration of the former fascist regime in Bulgaria were openly discussed. An official representative of the British government took a direct part in the conference. . . . This fact proves that the British government openly supports hostile designs and actions aimed against the Bulgarian People's Republic and against the peace and collaboration of peoples. The Bulgarian government . . . protests this attitude which flagrantly contradicts normal diplomatic relations and the principles of the UN Charter . . . and which encourages war and aggression."

Radio Budapest, January 31, reported that the Hungarian Foreign Ministry had handed the following note to the British Legation in Budapest, protesting the conference of the European Movement:

"[At the conference] warmongers and fascist elements who fled from Hungary and other Peoples' Democracies . . . conferred on the overthrow of the existing Peoples' Democratic regimes and legal governments in Eastern Europe . . . and also discussed the restoration of the old oppressive regimes. The Hungarian government has learned with consternation that the opening session of the conference was attended and addressed by an official representative of the British government, Harold MacMillan, Minister of Housing and Local Government, who in his speech . . . conveyed the greetings of the British government in general and the good wishes of Foreign Minister Eden in particular. . . . [This shows] that the British government, in contradiction to the principle of international cooperation which it preaches, displays a hostile attitude toward the Hungarian people and Republic. It supports and encourages fascist and anti-democratic elements which are conspiring against the Hungarian People's Republic and inciting war."

Charge "Criminal Warmongering"

Commenting in a similar vein, Romania's Radio Bucharest, February 5, reported that the government had sent the following protest to the British Legation in Bucharest:

"[The refugees at the conference] are well-known fascists and professional slanderers in the pay of the American government. . . . Under the label 'Conference of the Commission for Central and East Europe of the European Movement,' these tools of American imperialism, with the direct support of the British government, indulged in criminal warmongering demonstrations against the USSR and the Peoples' Democracies. . . . The British government not only gave these individuals the opportunity to conspire on the territory of the United Kingdom against the RPR and other peace-loving countries,

but also sent its official representatives to the conference. . . . The government of the RPR considers that the attitude of the British government is an act hostile to the Romanian people and incompatible with normal relations among countries. . . . This attitude constitutes a gross infringement of the tenets of international law."

Poland's Radio Warsaw, January 26, attacked the London conference as an attempt to make East Europe an American colony:

"The conference of the emigre Judases in London ended yesterday. It was held under the aegis of the US government, the armed forces of which have destroyed Korea and brutally murdered the people of that country; under the aegis of the US government which is arming the Wehrmacht . . . and delivering arms and muni-

tions to all fascist and reactionary dictators, enabling them to preserve terrorist and anti-national governments.

. . . Among the emigre Judases participating in the London conference, there was not a single one whose hands were not stained by the blood of workers and peasants who fought against the fascist and reactionary regimes. . . . [These emigres] are dreaming about the transformation of these countries into colonies of US imperialism. . . . They have, however, shamefully disguised one irrefutable fact, namely, that this liberation is to be carried out by an army, the backbone of which is the German Wehrmacht. . . . No Pole will pay attention to the so-called European unity propagated by Mikolajczyk, Ciolkosz and Bielecki. Their European unity means a Europe ruled by US millionaires with the assistance of the Wehrmacht."

Economic Restlessness

I. FOREIGN TRADE AND THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

Heralded for some months by increasing indications of Soviet concern with the unprecedented low level of East-West trade and by the promotion of inter-Satellite trade agreements, the Moscow International Economic Conference scheduled for April has occupied a central position in the recent economic news from the Iron Curtain countries. The Satellite press and radio, following Moscow's lead, have presented the Conference as a new weapon for peace, an enlightened effort to restore economic equilibrium between the nations of the world. The Yugoslav view, on the other hand, interprets the Conference as another Soviet propaganda maneuver. A third opinion is contained in this reasoned analysis by a refugee economist:

"Certainly the Kremlin has not overlooked the propaganda benefits to be derived from the staging of the Economic Conference. Indeed, this aspect has been exploited to the fullest. . . . But the Conference has deeper motivations in that it reflects the foreign trade dilemma of the entire Soviet orbit, the dilemma inherent in the so-called Molotov Plan. This dilemma has many causes. . . . In a totalitarian system there is always a tendency to move towards economic self-sufficiency, towards isolated autarchy. This self-imposed isolationism has been supplemented by the limited blockade of the Communist sphere imposed by the West. The combination has drastically impeded the exchange of goods. . . . A second factor results from the enforced industrialization program to which the captive countries, with their normally agrarian economies, have been subjected. Because of the demands of, and dislocations resulting from this program, the foodstuffs and agricultural products which would normally be available for export are limited. The Kremlin, however, by withholding food and consumer goods from the population, aims to exchange these for desperately needed heavy industrial machines and strategic raw materials from the non-Soviet world. . . .

"The Conference is a clever move which reflects both Moscow's concern with the situation and its desire to do something about it. Not only is it an effort to consolidate trade channels already established within the Soviet sphere of influence, but more particularly it is an attempt to broaden trade with parts of Europe (such

as Sweden and Switzerland), with South America, the Middle East and Southeast Asia. . . . It is most probable that the Conference will attain only limited success, however, because of the growing unity of the non-Soviet governments, who are increasingly aware of the nature of Moscow's strategic intentions."

Wide Participation Claimed

The Communist press has emphasized the wide participation expected at the Conference. Romania's *Universul* (Bucharest) announced on February 5:

"The number of people who declared that they will participate is ever increasing. . . . A great number of newspapers see in this conference a very important event, destined to contribute to the lessening of international tension. The Austrian paper *Die Union* shows that the conference will 'constitute a very promising beginning in the re-establishment of world economic balance'. The Uruguayan paper *Justicia* . . . mentions that 'the conference will constitute a definite step towards the stability of economic relations between nations'.

"A Geneva newspaper quotes the *New York Times* in listing the declarations of representatives of [European] businessmen who will lead their countries' delegations to Moscow. . . . The Danish delegation will be headed by Prof. Zeiten, one of the best-known Danish economists. . . . Raimondo Craveri of the Italian Commercial Bank will go with the Italian delegation, etc. The same paper criticizes the attitude of the circles who oppose participation to the conference showing that 'certain US groups make a serious mistake by refusing to accept the participation of US delegates'."

The Hungarian press emphasized the "international" character of the Conference, taking as its slogan "Reconciliation between East and West" and criticising the negative attitude of the West. *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest), February 2, quoted an article by Gyorgy Parragi:

"All the industrial efforts of the Anglo-Americans are directed towards armaments. They are only willing to trade on a colonial basis with underdeveloped countries. Hungary, in the spirit of the Moscow Economic Conference, seeks to expand her trade relations on the basis of the equality and independence of all nations."

In the February 9 issue of the same paper an article entitled "The Moscow Conference on World Trade as Seen through the Eyes of the West" attempted to create the impression of a similar attitude toward the Conference on the part of the European press:

"The press of Western Europe raises the question: Is there any way out of the economic crisis caused by the armaments race and the state of dependence on America other than to expand economic relations between East and West in the spirit of the Soviet peace plan?"

After quotations from English, French and Italian papers, the article used quotations from selected US newspapers to show that "certain American circles are of the opinion that the government of the USA would make a serious error in not allowing itself to be represented at the Moscow Conference."

Radio Prague exulted:

"Lord Boyd-Orr, former Secretary General of FAO, has decided to attend the International Economic Conference. . . . Many British industrialists and businessmen also intend to come. . . . They emphasize the decline in export to the Eastern countries to one tenth of its previous volume as a result of pressure from the USA which has caused a remarkable deterioration in the British economy. Former Minister of Trade Wilson also declared that free trade with Eastern Europe is one of the conditions which could bring about an improvement in the economic situation of the country."

Vecherni Novini (Sofia), February 11, gave prominence to an article by Todor Pavlov, president of the National Preparatory Committee for the participation of Bulgaria in the Moscow Conference. Pavlov appeared to be very much on the defensive:

" . . . The International Initiative Committee has decided not to ask the participants to sign their names on decisions, with which they, for one reason or another, do not agree. In so doing, it is evident that the slanders of some newspaper men, inspired by certain imperialist circles, e.g. that the Economic Conference is a 'Communist deed' or a maneuver of the USSR, are entirely without ground; especially when we take into consideration that the Conference is convened on the initiative of the International Committee, and that people with various social, political, economic and party conceptions, will participate.

"The decision of the International Initiative Committee that the Conference is to be held in Moscow proves that the Soviet Union differs entirely from the United States, England and the other countries. The USSR insures entry to the Soviet Union and the participation in the Conference of anybody, no matter where he comes from and what his political and other conceptions are."

Yugoslavs Comment Critically

Yugoslavia was critical of the motivations behind the Conference and of Pavlov's article.

Politika (Belgrade), February 13, remarked:

"In a series of advertisements about the coming In-

ternational Economic Conference in Moscow, the contribution of Todor Pavlov has lately been noticed. This Bulgarian academician has been given the role both of a promotional organizer for the Conference and a defender of its purposes.

"The article of Todor Pavlov is full of contradictions. He points out that the Conference will be attended by people with different political views and that the aim of the Moscow gathering is: 'to strive for the improvement of economic relations among all countries'. However, the newspapers in the world which look objectively at the problems deny this assertion, an assertion which was made by the most official authorities in Moscow before Pavlov's article appeared. Trying to answer those who looked upon the Moscow Conference realistically, seeing in it another Soviet political maneuver, Pavlov implicates himself by saying that it is not true, and that the Conference 'will represent a very important and valuable contribution to the world's action for the preservation of peace'. That is just the point: the Conference represents just one more action in the Cominform's propaganda directed towards the popularization of the idea of the Big Five Pact, the appeal for peace, etc.

"Pavlov's explanation as to who had called the Conference is still less convincing. To some assertions that the Moscow Conference is the doing of the Soviet government, Pavlov replies naively that this is not true but that the Conference is called by an International Committee! Entering more deeply into pure fiction, Pavlov writes that this International Committee decided that the Conference should be held in Moscow because the USSR will grant entry to everyone willing to attend the conference. However, suppose that Yugoslavia or some of our enterprises decide to send a representative to Moscow. We wonder if entry would be granted them into the country—the Patroness of International Trade?"

Embargo Pinch Being Felt

The Yugoslav Home Service, February 10, referred to comments which appeared in *Politika* (Belgrade), on the same day:

"*Politika* says that it seems that the Soviet Union is feeling the effects of the American embargo on the export of strategic raw materials and heavy machinery. It also seems that it is not yet plain to the Russians that the normalization of trade relations between the East and the West cannot be attained through side roads which either circumvent or elude the political issues at stake.

"One of the crucial objectives of this Conference will be to try to shatter the unity of the West in the face of the aggressive Soviet policy. This newest Soviet offer to the West is along the line of other Soviet maneuvers, represented by the bogus peace drives and the call for a peace pact between the Five Big Powers, but it is more attractive than the other offers. Irrespective of the fact that the Conference will be attended by certain leading representatives of the commercial world, there is little likelihood that anyone will play into the hands of the Soviet Union.

"It is common knowledge that large trade transac-

tions between the Soviet Union and the Western countries have been made—involving Bulgarian rose oil and tobacco, Czechoslovak footwear, Chinese bristles, and Polish coal. These products were bought for nothing and sold for valuable foreign currency. The Russian 'businessmen' are interested in such large-scale trade transactions, because the time for transactions with peoples and countries has not yet come."

Concern Stimulates Satellite Pacts

Concomitant with news specifically concerning the Moscow Economic Conference numerous new trade agreements were reported between the Iron Curtain countries themselves as well as with some countries outside the Soviet bloc. The West figured more and more in speeches and plans.

The Bulgarian newspaper *Troud* (Sofia), February 13, published the following article by Petko Stainov, Secretary of the Juridical and Economic Section of the Bulgarian Academy of Science:

"Trade between East and West has dropped to a dangerously low level. The Soviet Union and the bourgeois countries existed long before World War II, and at that time there was still brisk trade between the two. If we consider the foreign trade deals between the Eastern and Western European countries in 1938 as 100 percent, trade between East and West Europe has dropped to 63 percent. In some countries it has dropped to 10 percent.

"It must be emphasized that not all European countries have cut down their trade with the East. Some have even increased the exchange of goods with their Eastern European partners: such countries are Switzerland and Sweden, two countries not yet affected by the discriminatory American economic policy. Unfortunately the largest or most industrialized Western European countries—France, Great Britain and Belgium—are effectively dominated by the Marshall Plan. Their exports to the Eastern countries have shown the sharpest decline. In France, the country most dominated by the Marshall Plan, the decline of goods formerly exported to the Eastern European States has reached, in some cases, 10 percent.

"If we want to understand the reasons behind this spectacular drop in trade between the main Western European countries and the East, we must recall that Averell Harriman, main counselor of President Truman and distributor of American aid to the European countries, recently sent a new warning to all Western European countries still maintaining trade relations with the East. He told them that the United States demands that all exports originating in Western countries and destined for the East be immediately discontinued, particularly if the goods in question are mentioned in a list compiled by the US government. This list consists of military supplies and goods and raw materials which can be considered of strategic value."

Interest in Iran and India

Hungary's increased interest in trade with the Middle East is illustrated by the following refugee report:

"Hungary is trying particularly to increase her exports to the Middle East and South Asia. The focal point of these endeavors is Cairo, where a permanent

Hungarian foreign trade committee is stationed. This committee is organizing more and more significant Hungarian exports to Syria and Lebanon. It has also consulted with Spanish representatives, with whom it was allegedly agreed that Hungary would ship diesel engines and electrical appliances to Spain in return for non-ferrous metals. More recently, a trade agreement between Hungary and Iran has been concluded which provides for oil shipments from the latter."

Expanded interest in South Asia was evidenced by the special pavilion which Hungary exhibited at the recent Bombay International Fair. Under the modest heading "Tremendous Hungarian Successes" *Magyar Nemzet*, February 7, wrote:

"The Soviet experts participating in the Fair lent strong support to the Hungarians in charge of organizing the exhibit. It was they who arranged for the transportation of the products of heavy industry to the pavilion. . . . Hindu experts, with great interest, inspected the Hungarian tooling machines, electrical appliances, radios, diesel motors, motorcycles, bicycles and sewing machines. . . . Such throngs pressed into the Hungarian pavilion that on one occasion it was necessary to bar the entrance to relieve congestion."

Agreements Signed with USSR

At the same time, *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), February 2, reported that:

"Representatives of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic on January 23 of this year signed in Moscow a long-term mutual trade agreement which provides for the relocation of entire factories. . . . The contracting parties, in the interest of the further expansion of their trade relations, agreed that in the period 1952-1955 they would greatly expand commercial contacts between the Soviet Union and Hungary."

Bulgaria, too, is becoming more and more absorbed into the Soviet Union economy. The Bulgarian newspaper *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), February 15, published the following Tass item under a February 14 dateline from Moscow:

"On February 9, 1952, as a result of the successfully completed negotiations between the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade and the delegation of the Bulgarian People's Republic, a protocol was signed for the 1952 exchange of goods between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. The protocol calls for a large increase over 1951 in the goods exchanged."

In connection with the signing of the above-mentioned trade agreement, *Rabotnichesko Delo*, February 16, in an editorial entitled "A New Expression of Inseparable Brotherly Friendship and Mutual Assistance," wrote:

"The protocol calls for a large increase over 1951 in the goods exchanged. Our country will import raw materials, machinery, installations, and so forth, and will export agricultural produce, tobacco, fruit pulps, fruit, ores and concentrates, and so forth. The new trade agreement, signed February 9 in Moscow, will have a decisive

influence on the fulfillment of the 5-year plan in four years. This agreement is a new expression of our inseparable friendship with the Soviet Union.

"The basic reason for trade relations among capitalist countries is the desire of the large financial groups and monopolies to enslave other countries' economies and to convert them into colonies. . . . The trade agreements concluded between the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies are agreements between fraternal and equal countries and are based on mutual respect for national interests."

After 1948 all official data on the foreign trade of Bulgaria have been considered "state secrets." Hence the following statement of Dimiter Ganev, Minister of Foreign Trade, published in *Rabotnichesko Delo*, June 17, 1950, used only percentage figures: ". . . 85 percent of our foreign trade is carried out with the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies." But 11 months later, on April 11, 1951, an item from the Bulgarian news-agency [BTA] revealed that: "In 1950, 92 percent of the foreign trade of Bulgaria was carried out with the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies."

A refugee who recently escaped from Bulgaria described the export of Bulgarian products to the Soviet Union:

"In October 1951, I watched the ferry-boat between Vidin and Kalafat ship four train transports which were destined for the Soviet Union. Each of these transports was composed of 48 15-ton railway cars loaded with cereals, tobacco, grapes, wine and brandy. The trains had been loaded in the area of the Vidin station during the day and night. I could not ascertain whether or not they were escorted by special guards.

"I did not see other such transports for Soviet Russia, but I was told that goods exported to the Soviet Union are shipped principally from the ports of Burgas and Varna (Stalin). With regard to imports from Russia, I was told that several loads of grain and fodder 'imported' from Russia were actually of Bulgarian origin. For example, several of the 'imported' bales of hay which were distributed among the various military detachments contained small Bulgarian flags, put there by the Bulgarian farmers in charge of packing the fodder to prove their Bulgarian origin and that they were therefore not 'aids' from the Soviet Union."

Radio Sofia announced the arrival of a Chinese trade delegation in its broadcast of February 21:

"Last night the trade delegation of the Chinese People's Republic, headed by Van Han Min, chief of a department at the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the Chinese People's Republic, arrived in our capital. The delegation, under the presidency of the diplomatic representative of the Chinese People's Republic, Tel Sen Jen, will carry out negotiations for a trade agreement for 1952 between the Chinese People's Republic and Bulgaria."

Negotiations with East Germany

The weekly publication of the Romanian Legation in

Washington, *Romanian News*, February 17, reported on a new agreement with East Germany:

"A long-term trade agreement (1952-1955) between Romania and the German Democratic Republic was signed in Bucharest on January 23. At the same time an agreement on commodity exchange and payments between the two countries in 1952 was also concluded.

"The agreements provided for a sizeable increase in trade between the countries and will contribute to the economic strengthening of both. Under the terms of the agreements, the GDR will send to the RPR equipment and machinery, electrical goods, precision parts and optical goods, while the RPR will supply the GDP with semi-finished and finished products of the leather and oil industries and agricultural products."

Similarly, Radio Tirana disclosed on January 17 that an Albanian delegation had arrived in East Germany: "According to ADN [an East German news agency] January 17, an Albanian delegation led by Abdyl Kellezi, the Finance Minister, arrived in Berlin on January 17 to negotiate a trade agreement with the German Democratic Republic."

"A trade agreement was signed between Czechoslovakia and Austria entailing an exchange of goods and services worth \$66 million (from Czechoslovakia mainly mineral oil and sugar, but very little coal; from Austria mainly magnesium and textiles)." Another agreement "was signed between Hungary and Czechoslovakia sending raw materials, turning lathes, factory equipment and chemicals, in exchange for agricultural products and consumer goods." The former was announced by the Austrian radio station in Graz on January 28, the latter by Radio Budapest on January 22.

Charge Exploitation of Czechoslovakia

The Yugoslav Home Service quoted from *Nedeljne Informativne Novine* (Belgrade), February 10, regarding foreign trade in Czechoslovakia:

"The non-fulfillment of the Czechoslovak foreign trade plan reflects the non-fulfillment of the plan for deliveries to the Soviet Union. The shortage of consumer goods is the direct consequence of the switch-over of the Czechoslovak economy to heavy industry, which has brought about a drop in the production of light industry. There is also a shortage in the production of agricultural commodities. It is well known that the present Czechoslovak agricultural production is not in a position to fulfill the nation's needs and that it is necessary to import large quantities of food articles from abroad. All this comes as a result of the pressure which the Soviet Union has brought to bear on Czechoslovakia.

"Under Soviet pressure, Czechoslovakia has reduced its trade relations with other countries, including its main and normal suppliers, to a minimum. All this throws a lurid light on Soviet-Czechoslovak trade relations and shows the character of the so-called Soviet fraternal aid. Yet this is not unknown to the Czechoslovak workers. In 1948, after they had undergone the 1947 drought, the Czechoslovak workers could sense what Soviet assistance means—for Czechoslovakia had to pay

3311 million crowns for its imports from the Soviet Union, a price higher than if it had bought the same products on the world markets."

Foreign Impact of *Leu* Revaluation

The Romanian monetary reform (see below) has had an effect on the rest of the Satellite economies. Radio Belgrade on February 12 discussed the relationships of the reform to the other countries of the Soviet bloc:

"Austrian economic circles maintaining trade connections with Eastern Europe are convinced that the Romanian currency reforms will be followed by similar measures in all the other countries of the Soviet Bloc.

"It is expected that the currencies of all these countries will be tied to the *ruble*. Rumors have been circulating about these measures in Czechoslovakia and Hungary for several weeks, causing panic among the population."

The official view was given by Romania's Agerpress (Bucharest) on January 29:

"Measures recently taken by the government and Party through currency reform and price reduction prove once again the powerful economic development of our country. The increase in gold content of the *leu* from 5.94 gold milligrams to 79.35 gold milligrams and the fixing the rate of the *leu* on the basis of the *ruble*, the strongest and most stable currency in the world, considerably enhance the possibilities of an advantageous exchange of products between our country and other countries.

"... Following the wise Stalin's teachings, the Romanian government time and again has proved that it is ready to maintain economic relations with other countries, on the basis of full equality and mutual observance of national sovereignty. ... In the Vienna and Milan International Fairs, for instance, the Romanian pavilions enjoyed a high esteem among visitors and the press.

"The recent conclusion by our government of some trade agreements with Italy, Switzerland, Argentina and other capitalist countries is also telling evidence of the desire for economic cooperation with all the countries in the world. Therefore, the Romanian working people warmly greet the Soviet initiative in organizing an International Economic Conference, in which they see concrete means for strengthening peace in the world."

II. THE ROMANIAN MONETARY REFORM

The Romanian monetary reform announced on January 27 follows similar measures carried out in the USSR in December, 1947, and in Poland in October, 1950. It came four and a half years after the first Romanian monetary reform was introduced by the Communist regime. At midnight January 27, the old *leu* ceased to be legal tender and within four days had to be exchanged for new currency at the National Bank. Bank notes which were not exchanged within that time became void. The decree was issued by the Council of Ministers and Central Committee of the Workers' Party on January 26 and signed by Petru Groza

and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. The following day Radio Bucharest announced the decree which was prefaced by a lengthy preamble enumerating the economic achievements of the regime. As reported by Radio Bucharest on January 27 the preamble asserted:

"Our State is faced with a new monetary reform in order to strengthen the purchasing power of the *leu*, raise its exchange rate, increase the real income of manual and white collar workers, and improve the supply of goods to the working population."

The preamble referred to the overfulfillment of the State Plans for 1949, 1950 and 1951, and added: "... Besides these achievements one finds ... certain phenomena ... which put a brake on the economic development of the country." These phenomena were described as the "disorganizing" elements which made the monetary reform necessary.

"... speculators and other capitalist elements in towns and villages and agents of all descriptions of Anglo-American imperialism carried out a campaign to undermine the purchasing power of the *leu* and disorganize the circulation of goods between villages and towns. Capitalist elements ... have been maneuvering with foodstuffs which they store in large quantities, but market only in small quantities. ... The prices of agricultural products have tripled on the unorganized market as compared with 1947, while the prices of industrial goods demanded by peasants have remained at almost the same level. This leads to a weakening of the exchange between town and country. ...

"The bad quality of the currency, the circulation of certain kinds of money preserved since the time of the monarchy ... the many monetary falsifications organized especially by the external enemies of the Romanian People's Republic ... have contributed to the weakening of the monetary circulation in the country."

Confiscatory Effect of the Reform

The new decree contained 22 articles which provided for such matters as the issuing of new bank notes, State Treasury bills and coins. It specified the gold content of the new *leu* at 0.079346 grams of fine gold, and fixed the exchange rate of the *leu* to the *ruble* as 2.80 to 1. Cash holdings of private individuals and firms were fixed at an old-for-new exchange rate of 100 to 1 for the first 1,000 *lei*, 200 to 1 for the next 2,000, and at 400 to 1 for further sums; private bank deposits were to be exchanged at rates about twice as favorable as those applied to cash. State enterprises will be affected at a ratio of 200 old *lei* to one new *leu*. In contrast, Article 13 reads: "... the population's payment obligations to the State will be recalculated at the ratio of 20 old *lei* to one new *leu*." And Article 14 provides that: "The embassies, legations and diplomatic offices and missions of foreign states ... will ... exchange ... at the ratio of 20 old *lei* to one new *leu*." This ratio, ten to 20 times more favorable than that applied to private holdings, will primarily benefit the USSR, with her large numbers of personnel and commercial enterprises.

Commenting on the monetary reform a Romanian exile feels that the crux of the reform lies in the confiscation of peasant savings:

"In spite of all Communist pressure, the peasants had succeeded in accumulating some savings as the result of normal economic processes. The tremendous demand for food supplies, coupled with the inability of the regime to supply the consumer goods needed by the peasantry, resulted in an accumulation of bank notes in rural districts and a corresponding devaluation of these bank notes (which no peasant really wanted since nothing could be bought with them). The result of this accumulation was the search for 'other monetary values', primarily gold, since no significant amounts of foreign currencies are available to the Romanian peasantry. But, from the decree itself it would appear that people had resorted to circulating various currencies of their own: such as the old, pre-Communist bank notes and coins. The new decree is aimed at wiping out these practices as well as at siphoning off the largest portion of peasant savings.

"For the man in the street the manner of exchange, in view of the very low ceilings, amounts to outright confiscation, 80 percent on sums below 1000 lei (\$6.75), and up to 95 percent on sums over 3000 lei (\$20.00).

"That the monetary reform will not improve the supply of goods is admitted in the preamble of the decree: 'But the implementation of the monetary reform, the withdrawal of illegal monetary accumulations, will not in themselves solve the shortcomings and difficulties. . . . The system of rationing and the existence of several prices for the same product represent measures which are temporarily necessary. . . .'

"Furthermore, hardships are candidly admitted, ' . . . a few necessary sacrifices [will be made] by the working classes . . . during the exchange of their currency. . . .'

"The Communist procedure of regulating the purchasing power of salaries by driving the consumer into the black market should be noted. It is also apparent from the long list of 'recalculated' prices which accompanies the decree that the prices of rationed articles are not reduced, but simply divided by 20. Whatever reductions are made apply only to the so-called free-market prices, which are $2\frac{1}{2}$ to five times greater than the rationed prices of the same article."

Letter Describes Impact on Consumer

A letter from Bucharest, dated the end of January, describes the effect of the reform on the individual consumer:

"This morning the reform! What will happen to my poor 6,400 lei, which I was saving with such trouble? Today the store windows were filled with oranges, lemons, grapefruits, butter, and cheese of all kinds—a sight which has not been seen since the old days, enough to make one's mouth water, but the prices are not attached. Could they be offered as samples! Those who expected the devaluation hurried to buy all they could, sheets, materials, dresses. . . . One woman bought three shrouds, a peasant bought a piano. I could have done the same and not have lost my 6,400 lei for which I will receive heaven only knows what money in exchange.

DOUA MONETE



Desen de Eug. Taru

The above cartoon appeared in the Romanian organ "Scanteia" (Bucharest) on February 5 and is typical of official comment on the benefits of a Soviet-oriented economy as compared to that of the West.

"While waiting to exchange our money we are slaves. Since this morning they have started exchanging old money into the 'reformed' currency, proceeding according to alphabetical order. Tomorrow, it will be my turn. The prices were announced in *Universul*. I copied the price list and computed the chart which follows:

	new lei	equivalent in exchanged lei	pre exchange cost
oil	11.00	4,400	500—1,000
sugar	9.90	3,960	200
rice	9.70	3,880	200
apples	3.50—6.50	1,400—2,600	85—150
carrots	2.50	1,000	40
butter	9.90	3,960	1,000
white bread	3.25	1,300	130
newspapers	0.20	80	5

"I will receive 28.50 lei for my 6,400. I will buy a loaf of white bread for 3.25 lei and keep the rest in my pocket."

On February 16, Radio Belgrade, in a broadcast dealing with the economic troubles facing the captive countries, said: ". . . Romania belongs to that group of countries of the Soviet bloc in which the process of unification, actually subjugation, has been rapidly developing" *Slovenski Porocivalec* (Ljubljana), January 31, in an article entitled "Monetary Reform in Romania Deprives the Romanian People of Their Savings" says the following:

"This monetary reform proves that large-scale inflation has decreased the purchasing power of the people. Another decree issued at the same time to reduce prices of consumer goods will scarcely be able to increase this power.

"From a financial point of view the new reform proves that Soviet imperialism is advancing day by day deeper into the economic life of the captive countries. This new reform is an important proof that inflation, a result of the cold war and rearmament races, has also hit the Soviet bloc although the Soviets . . . always stress that inflation tendencies strike only the Western countries."

Hints that Bulgaria Will Be Next

According to Istanbul reports, the Soviet financial and economic experts who prepared and executed the monetary reform in Romania during January, 1952, are now in Bulgaria. Their presence there is said to confirm recent hints that a monetary reform is now in preparation. The Bulgarian Communist authorities are completely silent on the question, but it is deemed likely that a new reform will be made public in the next two or three months. One report ends:

"The new Bulgarian budget provides unquestionable evidence of the inflation existing in the country. A monetary reform will mean the withdrawal of the old money from circulation in order to absorb inflation. The people of Bulgaria, whose savings will disappear with the issue of new money, will bear the brunt of such a measure."

III. LABOR RECRUITMENT AND REGIMENTATION

If economic exploitation is accepted as the Kremlin's primary objective in respect to the captive nations of Central Europe, firm control over the labor force in these countries can be considered as perhaps the most important aim of the puppet regimes. Hence, the incessant pressure for "labor discipline," and hence, too, the gravity of official concern when methods of regimentation show signs of failure—as appears to be increasingly the case in Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Plant managers are blamed, trade union leaders are censured, and increased restrictions are imposed on the workers.

In Czechoslovakia, Labor Minister Jaroslav Havelka lashed out at the "almost criminal sloppiness of numerous plant managers." As quoted in *Rude Pravo* (Prague), January 15, he said:

"During the first three years of our Five Year Plan, from the beginning of 1948 to November, 1951, the number of persons active in heavy industry increased by approximately 12 percent. Many a plant manager still assumes that it is the duty of the District National Committee to provide the necessary labor and cannot understand at all that it is the duty of the plant manager to take care of new workers and to keep them in the plant permanently. During the past autumn we have received at the Ministry many complaints and protests from recruited brigade workers on the almost criminal sloppi-

ness of numerous plant managers, forming a harsh and upsetting accusation against these managers. An inspection last autumn in the brigade workers' dormitories at the Ostrava-Karvinna region revealed a number of really serious shortcomings, and such cases are not limited to the Ostrava region alone. . . .

"New methods of labor recruitment have been introduced by the government ordinance of December 27, 1951. . . . By this new ordinance the entire existing system, which was based on the voluntary movement of labor under State supervision, will be abandoned, and a new system will be applied which will directly control labor recruitment for the most important sectors of our industry in the same way as our entire Socialist economy is directed.

"Difficulties, arising from misunderstanding by some managers, have to be expected in labor recruitment. Already some of the managers object to employing women and persons of reduced working capacity which would release younger employees for heavy industry. . . . Above all, it is necessary to create an atmosphere at the place of work which would attract the new worker and attach him to the plant. The brigade workers previously complained about the rough and negative attitude of old employees, mainly in mines, and also about their assignment to inferior work which no one else wants to do and which pays lower wages. Even cases of direct robbing of wages have occurred."

"The Workers Do Not Want It"

The workers' resistance to new speed-up methods resulted in this attack on trade unionists by *Prace* (Prague) on January 10:

"'The workers do not want it' is the excuse of the plant managements, and it becomes evident that the work of the plant groups of ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] must be blamed, since they are incapable of persuading the employees to make use of the new 'Tencer speed-up' methods. Such excuses need not be discussed. The leading workers are trade unionists and it is their duty to prepare the work in such a way that the workers themselves would call for the Tencer device."

The reference to Tencer speed-up methods is explained:

"State Prize-winner Comrade A. Tencer, bearer of the Order of the Republic, came to the conclusion that his group of three was wasting time—20 minutes every two hours—by waiting for material. This amounts to one full man hour of lost working time among the three workers, and to four man hours per shift. To this must be added the loss of time of auxiliary workers in mortar-mixing. . . . Bygone must be the times of the old bricklayer, with a pipe in his mouth and the indispensable mug of beer, laying just a certain stretch of bricks. . . ."

Tvorba (Prague), January 31, even found reasons to blame the medical profession:

"Doctors often trespass against the interests of Socialist construction by favoring members of the bourgeoisie—people whom they know or in cases where it could bring profit—in certifying their inability or limited ability to work, in recommending spa cures, partial

defreezing of bank accounts and the issuance of additional ration coupons, with disregard for the economic and moral setbacks they are causing."

Such doctors belong to that part of the profession which "takes a passive attitude and, while it carries out satisfactorily or even quite well its medical service, has no enthusiasm and wavers between progress and reaction." Or they belong to that part of the profession which consists of "both open and clandestine enemies of the People's Democracy who try to damage the interests of the people's medical services. . . ."

Absenteeism Branded Criminal

In Hungary, the papers and radio complain daily about the shortcomings in factories and plants due to the workers' "lack of discipline." Radio Budapest, January 24, quoted Chairman of the People's Economic Council, Erno Gero:

"... some undisciplined workers who, under the influence of capitalist vestiges in their mode of thinking or, often, under direct hostile influence, neglect their duty, transgress labor discipline and thus disturb and retard the work of the factory. . . . Arbitrary quitting of jobs and unjustified absenteeism endanger the realization of the People's Economic Plan, violate the interests of Socialist construction, attack the economic order of our people, and are therefore dangerous to society. . . . Arbitrary quitting of jobs is thus to be qualified as a crime . . . corrective-educational labor should be applied to those guilty of it. Those who are not conscious enemies of our social order and planned economy should be educated by the courts to respect discipline, not by depriving them of freedom, but by imposing corrective educational work on them."

On January 24, Radio Belgrade announced that:

"The Budapest Court sentenced four workers employed in a radiator factory and concrete production plant for lack of discipline in their work. They were sentenced to from four to five months reformatory labor and 25 percent reduction in their wages."

A Budapest correspondent reported in January that:

"The workers of the Soviet-managed barge repair shop at Csepel staged a strike. They refused to work on account of the inhuman way in which they were driven to work and because they were not paid for overtime hours. The Soviet management was unable to cope with the situation. The headquarters of the Transportation Trade Union and the political police were notified. In the end six men were arrested and eight were dismissed for 'disciplinary reasons'."

Managers Sentenced to Jail

Infractions of the elaborate control system were exposed by Radio Budapest on February 6:

"During the checking of employment books by the Office for Manpower Reserves it was established that, contrary to legal rules in force, certain enterprises were employing workers in large numbers without their employment books or were engaging others who had arbi-

trarily quit their jobs, without the permission of a Labor Exchange Office.

"During the last few days several people were sentenced for brutally violating the decree on employment books. Janos Vajda, manager of the Somogy County building enterprise, was sentenced to four months imprisonment. . . . The manager of the Szolnok County building enterprise, to four months imprisonment and a fine of 3,000 forints. . . . The section leader at No. 63 building enterprise to three months imprisonment and . . . the man in charge of manpower questions at the 15th Budapest District, to five months imprisonment for illegal and careless use of employment books and for neglecting supervision."

Travel Grants Curtailed for Offenders

Radio Budapest, February 7, broadcast new instructions issued by the Minister of Light Industry regarding travel grants which directly effect work discipline:

"On the basis of a decision reached by the People's Economic Council, the Minister of Light Industry had instructed enterprises, organizations and other bodies under his authority to pay week-end travel grants to workers employed away from their homes. A supplementary instruction just issued by the Minister of Light Industry provides for a curtailment of this grant for offenders against work-discipline.

"The grant is to be withdrawn from workers leaving their jobs ahead of the scheduled time, returning late after off-duty periods or remaining absent without valid reason. In the first instance the grant is to be stopped for two consecutive weekends; in case of repetition of the offence within six months, for four consecutive weekends; and for every subsequent offence, for four further consecutive weekends.

"The ministerial instruction provides further for keeping regular records of latecomers, absentees, and other disciplinary offenders. The instruction contains a special reminder to the effect that withdrawal of travel grants does not preclude the application of disciplinary or judicial procedure against the offenders."

Hungarian Labor Distribution

The following table shows a comparison of the distribution of Hungarian workers, 1930 and 1951, classified according to occupation. Although neither complete nor authoritative due to the lack of official data for 1951, the table presents a rough estimate of the situation. Note that the greatest percentage increases occurred in the mining, metallurgy and construction industries.

<i>Branches of industry</i>	1930	1951
Mining and Smelting Industry	30,000	70,000
Iron and Metal Industry	76,832	170,000
Machine and Transportation Appliance Manufacturing Industry	75,257	130,000
Stone, Earthen Ware, Clay Industry	26,931	30,000
Wood and Bone Industry	42,831	55,000
Leather, Bristle, Fur Industry	10,321	20,000
Spinning and Weaving Industry	44,902	50,000
Clothing Industry	120,119	160,000
Paper Industry	5,659	10,000

<i>Branches of industry—Continued</i>	1930	1951
Food Industry	70,410	95,000
Chemical Industry	10,388	20,000
Building Industry	87,188	170,000
Total	600,538	980,000
<i>Of the total</i>		
Women	90,000	245,000
Married men	219,000	466,000
Married women	38,700	107,000
		In Great Budapest
Employed in Budapest	120,000	392,000

Health Benefits under Unionists

A new instrument of control was promised to Czechoslovak trade unionists when it was decided to transfer the administration of the Health Insurance system from State offices to local plant unionists. This was announced in a speech by Minister of Heavy Industry G. Kliment, reported by *Lidove Noviny* (Prague) on January 29. The move was unofficially interpreted as another means of applying pressure on the workers; this interpretation was indirectly supported by Kliment's speech in which he criticized the old benefit system for not "assisting increased work productivity." Excerpts from the speech follow:

"... Never have I claimed that we were satisfied with the present state of the Social Security. The insufficient connection with production and the insufficient possibility of control by the [trade unions] led to absenteeism and fluctuation with consequent adverse effects in production. Therefore, Health Insurance will be transferred to Trade Unions and separated from old-age and disability benefits. The claims for insurance benefits by insured persons will be decided upon by Union organs in the plants, and the administrative work in connection with payments and accounting of the benefits will be done by the plant managements...."

"It can be assumed that in many reforms which we will carry out, we shall try to abolish equality of payments, so that also here the insured persons will share in their claims according to their merits."

"The existing benefit system is based on equality and is not an effective and substantial instrument to gain and to hold employees in the most important production branches, and it is not even a factor assisting increased work productivity."

IV. AGRICULTURAL DEFICIENCIES AND CORRECTIVE PLANNING

Particularly in Poland and Czechoslovakia, agricultural production during 1951 fell seriously short of the planned levels. This was reflected in extreme food shortages during the last half of the year. Two of the main reasons for the situation, the priority given the program of industrialization and stubborn peasant resistance to collectivization, were frequently implied in the official analyses of the deficiencies. To counter these obstacles government planners established new production goals for 1952 and called for intensified

efforts to "popularize" the Communist farm program for 1952.

A communique of the State Planning Commission, published in all Polish newspapers on January 26, included this unelaborate admission: "The realization of the plan in agriculture for 1951 ran into many serious difficulties, and as a result, the aims of the plan have not been reached." In spite of this failure, "new and higher goals" have been set for 1952: "... the Socialized sector in agriculture will rise in comparison with 1951 by nearly 25 percent."

The Warsaw Home Service on February 3 stressed the seriousness of the problem and compared agricultural to industrial production. The argument was based on the assumption that collective farming should result in greater productivity, thus compensating for the higher demands of industrialization:

"The problem of increasing the agricultural production is at present one of the most important problems of our national economy. Agricultural production is seriously lagging behind the speedy development of our industry."

"The value of agricultural production, if compared with 1950, has decreased instead of increasing. At the same time, the value of the industrial production has increased by nearly one quarter."

"Our industry develops more quickly because it applies modern techniques. Agriculture is still on the path of small private husbandry and is using a primitive and backward technique. Industry is driven by the motor and agriculture by the horse. The unusually low achievements of agriculture threaten the development of the entire national economy."

"Good yields increasing from year to year are possible only with the employment of modern methods and with the mechanization of agriculture. On the other hand, the mechanization of agriculture is possible only through the development of production based on cooperative principles. It is obvious, however, that those principles can be introduced only when supported by the peasants themselves. Therefore, the advantages of Socialized husbandry should be explained to the peasant...."

"There are cases where the kulaks are not tilling the whole of their land. This obviously hampers the general development of our economy. Can the people's authorities tolerate such sabotage of agricultural production?"

Penal Sanctions Provided

A joint meeting of the Polish Politburo and the Presidium of the United Peasants Party, held on February 1, was mainly devoted to the critical food shortage. The chief result of that meeting was a new law providing for obligatory deliveries of slaughter animals by the peasants to the State. This law was voted by the Sejm on February 15 and provides for penal sanctions. *Trybuna Ludu* instructed on February 16:

"... in cases of non-delivery of livestock the original quota could be raised by 10 percent and compulsory collection instigated. ... Agricultural holdings which do not fulfill their duties are subject to 3,000 *zlotys* fine and, in extreme cases involving wilful avoidance of the

fulfillment obligation or agitation against the plan, up to three years of imprisonment is provided."

An article in the same paper entitled "In the Interest of Working People in Towns and Villages," quoted further from the speech of the Minister of Agriculture, Dab-Kociol:

"At the present moment the whole country, the state-economic apparatus, and all branches of Party organizations are faced with a new task of national importance: the task of putting into effect the recent bill passed by the Parliament dealing with the contractual and obligatory deliveries of livestock.

"The importance of this bill is enormous. This is eloquently illustrated in the appeal of the Central Committees of the United Workers Party and Central Executive Committee of the United Peasants Party to the working peasants.

"The bill was voted by the Parliament in consideration of the everyday life of millions of people who with great effort and sacrifice work for the development of our economy and for the increase of the strength and resources of our State. The bill is aimed at raising the animal production and securing such quantities of livestock that it should be possible to provide adequately all the working people with meat. . . .

"Therefore our Party organization, together with branches of the United Peasants Party and with the help of the broadest possible support of non-Party and social organizations of the country, will begin a wide political and educational campaign. Great help will be rendered in this action, as it was last time, by the experienced town-worker 'activists' especially sent to the country. . . .

"Mass political action will convince the broad peasant masses that the system of the obligatory deliveries will put an end to the situation whereby only two-thirds of the agricultural holdings sold pigs to the State and nearly one-third, or about one million agricultural holdings, did not participate in pig deliveries. This made distribution to towns difficult and gave kulaks and speculators a chance to profit."

Efforts to Popularize Collectivization

The "wide educational campaign" referred to above was initiated promptly and supported by articles such as this, printed in *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) on February 3:

"During the past two years the collectivization movement was strengthened and developed significantly. About 72,000 peasant families are engaged in collective husbandry in over 3,000 productive cooperatives. Now it is possible to enrich our country by hundreds of new productive cooperatives. This is one of the most important aims which the Central Committee will try to achieve in the next period. . . ."

The "Gryfice Resolution," which theoretically put collectivization on a voluntary basis, was presented in this perspective:

"The Gryfice Resolution was written to show that people's justice demands that the organization of col-

lective agriculture cooperatives be on the basis of free will, but at the same time it calls for the defense of the collectivization movement against its unrelenting enemies. . . .

"Further development of productive cooperatives is one of the most important aims of our Socialist program. It is not only the affair of village Party activists but it is the concern of the whole Party."

Grave Czechoslovak Meat Shortage

The grave Czechoslovak meat shortage was analyzed in a broadcast of Radio Prague, February 9, following an official announcement in the press stating that: "The government, in its meeting of February 5, approved measures suggested by the Minister of Internal Trade, Mr. Frantisek Krajcir, to improve the meat and meat products supplies."

The broadcast revealed that the government meeting was preceded by a conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which dealt with the same problem, and stated in part:

"Deficiencies in the supplies of meat and meat products have occurred during last year, in particular during the second half of 1951. As a result of these deficiencies, the growing demands of the workers could not be met; on the contrary, it was found necessary to limit the free market and to substitute allocations of rice and sugar for 300 grams [10 oz.] of meat per month on the controlled market. . . .

"The present state of affairs with regard to supplies of meat cannot be allowed to continue. Food supplies for workers must be secured in a better way than hitherto. . . .

"Planned tasks have not been fulfilled and agriculture still lags behind the growth of production in other sectors of our economy, [with deficiencies] in production of feeding stuffs, in managing supplies of feeding stuffs, in looking after livestock, and in reliable and trained cadres. An immediate result of these deficiencies in agricultural production was the failure to fulfill the livestock bulk buying plan. In particular, the pig bulk buying plan for 1951 has not been fulfilled. . . . Especially during the summer months, bulk buying underwent a sharp decline. Deficiencies are attributed to insufficient knowledge of bulk buying conditions on the part of individual farmers, cooperatives and villages. Too many old ways and methods have remained to hinder the execution and control of bulk buying of livestock.

"Other losses of meat were caused in slaughter houses and in the manufacture of meat products. . . . Norms of yields and loss were not determined. As a result the total yield of meat, pig fat and lard was relatively low and there occurred losses which were not accounted for. Deficiencies in the keeping of records and in strict control made possible frequent thefts of meat and meat products in slaughter houses and in meat processing centers.

"Losses which occurred in the retail trade were also disproportionately high, on the controlled market they even exceeded four percent. This high percentage was caused by the absence of exact and specific procedures of receipt and delivery connecting the meat industry and retail distribution. Thus the impossibility of carrying

out strict control permits irresponsible distribution and enables retail trade workers to steal considerable quantities of meat and meat products.

"These deficiencies in agricultural production and in bulk buying bear witness to unsatisfactory political work in the country and among small and medium farmers. Deficiencies in all sectors must definitely be removed. . . . The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Czechoslovak government regard supplying the population with meat as an exceptionally important task of national significance, as one of the chief duties of Party organizations, trade unions, organizations of agricultural cooperatives, leading workers of national committees, and of the staffs of the main administrations of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Food and the Ministry of Internal Trade."

Higher Goals Set for 1952

The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak government resolved, in the same meeting, to order the following production targets for 1952:

"To increase the proportion of cows in the total number of cattle—to 150,000 cows in Czechoslovakia, of which 50,000 cows will be in Slovakia—by December 31, 1952.

"To arrange for the mating of heifers and cows by March 15, 1952, so that they shall calve by the end of 1952.

"To insure, by improving insemination and mating, an average of 74 calves per 100 cows. . . .

"To increase, in 1952, the average live weight of beef cattle to 384 kilograms [845 lbs.] . . . to achieve an increase in cattle and calves for slaughtering in 1952 of 9,500 metric tons [9,310 tons] live weight.

"To insure that in 1952 the average live weight of pigs for market is 105 kilograms [231 lbs.] . . . to achieve an increase of 68,500 metric tons [67,130 tons] over 1951."

And regarding bulk buying it was specified that:

"The bulk purchase of cattle and pigs . . . must be divided into exact quarterly purchase targets, which must be fulfilled proportionately every week and every month. . . . The purchase must be subjected to a weekly checkup as to quantity and quality in all regions, districts and localities.

"The Minister of Internal Trade is directed to schedule rewards for superior production and fines for non-fulfillment, losses and damage. The Minister of Food is directed to introduce monthly balance sheets showing the total meat production of individual enterprises and other pertinent data, including losses, and measures must be taken to prevent pilfering of meat supplies and of Socialist property. Every case of pilfering must be severely punished and published in the daily press.

"The total supply of meat and meat products must be increased, by the end of 1952, 48 percent over 1951. . . . Meat reserves equal to 10 days of consumption in the rationed and free market must be created.

"In order to safeguard uninterrupted meat supplies,

the Minister of Foreign Trade is directed to insure meat imports up to the full planned figures each quarter."

At the same time it was announced by Radio Prague on February 11 that large numbers of cattle have had to be destroyed due to sickness or injury, which the agricultural workers attribute to the shortage of fodder. As a result: "The incinerators in Pilsen burned last year as much meat as would have provided rations for 100,000 people for one month."

The problem of insufficient fodder was taken up in *Trybuna Ludu*, February 16:

"A certain slow-up in raising of domestic animals took place in 1951, and the number of pigs even decreased slightly. The reason for this was to be found not only in the insufficient reserves of fodder, aggravated by the drought of 1951, but also in the weakening of the interest of peasants in raising domestic animals, which was caused, among other things, by the activities of the class enemy."

Conference of Polish Fishermen

A national conference of fishermen, held in Gdynia on February 12, was reported by Radio Warsaw. This meeting was concerned with the recent decision of the government aimed at "improving the fishermen's positions." It is of interest in the light of the present acute meat shortage. The broadcast stated that:

"The Director General of the Central Board of Deep Sea Fishing, Bilinski, discussed the decision of the Presidium of the government to increase assistance to fishermen. . . . Deep sea fishing will receive two transport boats, 33 new fishing boats, and 11 cutter engines. The fishermen's living conditions will be considerably improved. They will be given accommodation and supplies of food, which will be provided by the Balton firm, as well as supplies of coal. Fishermen employed in State enterprises will receive premiums for the implementation of plans for monthly catches."

Seek Permanent Work Groups

An article in *Straz Severu* (Liberec), February 1, called for permanent work teams in cooperative establishments:

"The permanent work group forms the basis for good work organization in the cooperative. At present . . . some groups . . . are constantly changing their work sectors and therefore feel no responsibility for the work performed. . . . Just now, when the general [planning] meetings are in preparation, it is necessary to abolish this mistake and to take care of establishing permanent work groups, at least for the period of one year, preferably for the entire work cycle, and to assign to them certain fields where as far as possible all kinds of farm products would be cultivated, so that these groups would be continuously employed.

"These work groups must receive all necessary equipment, such as machinery, tools, teams, and if necessary, buildings, and should be responsible for their maintenance. Hereby, the largest possible amount of privately-owned machinery and teams will be available which will result in a reduction of production costs and in an increase of the value of the permanent work group."

The writer of the above would have found at least one answer to his problem in this item from *Rude Pravo* two days earlier: "Growing application of cooperative methods and mechanization of production in agriculture are constantly freeing agricultural workers for industrial employment. . . ."

Another possible clue to lower agricultural production in Czechoslovakia can be read between the lines of this item from *Lidova Demokracie* (Prague), January 31:

"While carrying out research connected with agricultural production planning, the Ministry of Agriculture found that the area of arable land in 1952 is in many places smaller than in 1951 . . . by a total of 13.4 percent. Much of this land has been concealed . . . consequently, a precise mapping of agricultural land is now under way. . . . Local National Committees will get 'evidence cards' of every agricultural unit to record every change in the data."

A new report from the Czechoslovak State Office of Statistics contradicts a previous report published by the same office in October of 1951. The October figure for the Unified Agricultural Cooperatives was given in *Rude Pravo* on November 2 as 7,772, but the December figure given in *Lidove Noviny* (Prague), on January 29, was 6,250:

"State-owned farms and Unified Agricultural Cooperatives are farming already on almost one third of the land, as their part in farmland amounts to 30.6 percent and on land in general to 29.7 percent. There were already 6,250 Unified Agricultural Cooperatives established at the end of the year and preparatory committees have been established in fifteen hundred communities. . . ."

Bulgarian Harvest Deemed Insufficient

A Bulgarian businessman who recently escaped from his native country reports:

" . . . In spite of the enthusiastic declarations of the press, this year's harvest has proved insufficient. Simultaneously with the application of industrial sanctions, the Party has undertaken a campaign for increased agricultural output, in the form of promises by the cooperative farms and by the managers of the machine tractor stations, with a view to inciting the workers to increase their efforts and complete the five-year plan in four years. . . ."

This report from a former Bulgarian farm manager gives further evidence of peasant resistance to compulsory collectivization:

"The kolkhoz of Yassen, province of Vidin, was set up by force towards the end of 1950. With the exception of 15 families, the whole population of the village belongs to the kolkhoz. Part of these 15 families refused to the end to join the kolkhoz and the others were not admitted by the authorities, being considered 'enemies of the people'. On October 22, 1950, I was turned out into the street with my whole family because the authorities considered me an 'enemy of the people' and because of my obstinate refusal to join the kolkhoz. With my belongings and furniture scattered all over the road, I

had to spend three nights in the open air until finally some relatives would risk sheltering me and my family. My house was expropriated and turned into the kolkhoz office, and, as usual, I received no indemnity whatsoever.

"Before the Yassen kolkhoz was established special detachments of Communists searched the houses of the peasants, taking away their flour, wheat, cattle, clothes and most indispensable belongings. Moreover, the peasants were ordered to deliver great quantities of cereals to the collection centers so that they were deprived even of the necessary quantities of seeds. All this was done to compel the farmers to join the kolkhoz. But nevertheless, in the beginning the peasants refused to join the agricultural cooperative and bought seeds on the free market to restore their stocks. This they were forced to do as they would otherwise have been liable for punishment under the laws which provide for a penalty of imprisonment or confinement for all those who do not sow their fields.

"The kolkhoz of Yassen has a very poor production and the peasants are very dissatisfied with the meagre results. Many of them are obliged to leave the cooperative and seek work elsewhere. The little they earn in return for their hard work is far too meagre to secure even a modest livelihood.

"Communist newspapers make nice phrases about the Bulgarian farmers who are getting rich and are leading a dignified and well-to-do life. In reality they are starving and are forced to abandon their lands, to which they are so closely attached, and seek their fortune somewhere else. It is true, though, that there are some peasants who are relatively well off—those who are Party members."

New Partnership Structure in Romania

In Romania, *Scanteia* ran an editorial on the new type of agricultural partnerships set up in September by the Workers Party's Central Committee. As reported by Radio Bucharest, February 8, the editorial stated:

"Old partnerships were created for the use of tractors for just one harvesting campaign. There was no leading organization and no statutes to guide their activities. In many cases, borders were maintained which did not permit the peasants to benefit by mechanization. . . . To remedy this, statutes have been drafted . . . and have become the fundamental law of the associations. The associations, the statutes stipulate, are set up on the basis of the free consent of the working peasants. . . . Kulaks cannot be members of such associations.

"Unfortunately, Party organizations, regional as well as communal, have not paid sufficient attention to the implementation of the above decision. Many have slackened in their mass political work at the very moment when it should have been intensified.

"*Scanteia* warns the political agencies that they must intensify their work among the peasants, who must be convinced of the advantages of such associations. It is the duty of the regional and district Party committees to popularize the details of the statutes so that they are fully comprehended by the members of the associations, who have the duty of complying with them and applying them.

"The paper also castigates another practice indulged

in by many directors of machine-tractor stations and chairmen of People's Councils, namely ordering the tractors to plow the land of peasant partnerships which had been bureaucratically set up. The Party and the government sharply condemn such methods, which strike at the alliance of the peasants with the workers and help the kulaks and the other enemies of the working people."

"What Serenity, What Confidence"

In line with the incessant effort to popularize collective farming, *Romania Libera* (Bucharest) published on January 13 a picture showing the happy family of collective farmer Manoil Incse, with the following caption:

"An evening in the home of collective farmer Manoil Incse, from collective farm Gabor Aron, village of Anghelus, Stalin region. An evening like any other in a collectivist home. Manoil Incse is reading *The Mother* by Maxim Gorki. His wife is spinning. Their neighbor, Clara Bacs, is visiting them with her daughter. What serenity, what confidence in the future can be read on the faces of these collectivists! Every day their life becomes richer and happier!"

However, according to *Scanteia*, January 17:

"In August 1950, 49 families of working peasants of Calugareni, Bucharest region, had asked to join a collectivist farm. . . . A few days later 16 peasants withdrew their applications, and among the remaining 33, 15 were Government employees. The 'class enemy' was the cause, having poured the poison of doubt in the hearts of some working peasants. After two years of intensive political agitation, three more peasants were persuaded to join the original group. Last Sunday these 36 families festively inaugurated their collectivist farm, named '21st of December'."

Nor, according to *Scanteia*, January 16, are all Party members entirely cooperative:

"In the village where the County Party Committee decided that there were favorable prospects of founding collective farms, the number of Communists who asked to join them is exceedingly low. For instance, at Atsel and Bertan, Medias County [Transylvania], many Party members have failed thus far to do their duty as Communists and take the lead among working peasants in the fight for the Socialist conversion of agriculture. They did not care to be the first to apply for membership in collective farms. . . . In other villages, the action committees were well constituted but, for lack of concern displayed by the Party and government organs, there was no action at all. At Motish, for instance, the Action Committee was formed in May 1951, but it has never been convened since."

"Although the Executive Committee of the County People's Council was supposed to organize a series of talks on topics related to the Socialist conversion of agriculture, it did not carry out this program. . . . For instance, a meeting was called on November 26, 1951, with the topic, 'Importance of Fall Plowing', 11 days after the end of the fall plowing period."

Romania Libera, January 5, censured the Executive Committees for missing a good "propaganda device:"

"Other Executive Committees have completely overlooked this feature [the distribution of large quantities of grain to collective farmers in the presence of outsiders]. The distribution of products in many collective farms was made without any outside peasants attending. At Bailesti, Dolj region, no outsider attended the proceedings, not even from that village. . . . Such deficiencies, denoting that the Executive Committees are not set on making the best use of propaganda devices in order to extend the Socialist sector of agriculture, must be promptly liquidated."

Words and Music by Decree

I. THE SATELLITE PRESS

The functions of the press under a Soviet regime have been clearly defined by the Communists themselves.

The press is "a strong weapon in the hands of the Party." Its aim is to instruct, not to inform. Its method is propaganda, and its idol is "the ideal of every Communist paper, the Leninist-Stalinist *Pravda*." The press is called free—"free from all kinds of reactionary limitations."

On January 27, Bulgaria's *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia) editorialized on "the tasks and aims of the Communist press":

"Our press, as a collective organizer and a vital propaganda factor, represents a strong weapon in the hands of the Bulgarian Communist Party. *Rabotnichesko Delo* plays a very important role in assisting the fulfillment of the tasks of our Socialist construction.

"The following tasks have been set for this paper: to serve loyally the Leninist and Stalinist ideology, to fight persistently for the success of the Party program, and to explain the Party and Governmental policy aimed at achieving the building of Socialism in our country.

"*Rabotnichesko Delo* is striving to become the medium of communication between the Party Central Committee, the Party members and the working people. It is striving to educate the people in a spirit of unlimited and loyal love for the Soviet Union and the teacher of all humanity, Comrade Stalin.

"*Rabotnichesko Delo* is furnishing thousands of propaganda workers with material for their ideological agitation among the working people. It is striving to propagandize the valuable Soviet experience as well as that of our most distinguished Party organizations, brigades, Stakhanovites, shock-workers and agricultural workers."

At the conclusion of this enthusiastic article on the role of *Rabotnichesko Delo*, the managing editor of the paper admitted he was not quite satisfied with its circulation:

"These tasks can be efficiently performed only if the paper is spread among the broad masses of the population. In many places the number of *Rabotnichesko Delo* subscribers has been doubled. However, the efforts for the distribution of papers have not been equally efficient everywhere. The subscription drive in the Plevan Dis-

trict has shown very unsatisfactory results. It is obvious that the Plevan District Party organization has not carried out an effective explanatory campaign. It has not established the necessary control over the activities of the post, telephone and telegraph officials. In many places in the [district] regular delivery of the paper has not been insured. In the town of Levski only 100 copies of [the paper] are being sold owing to the fault of the Chief of the Post Office station, Genovsky, and the Party Secretary, Vlado N. Borisov.

"Cases of poor attention to the distribution of the paper have been noted in other places, too. The District Committee of the Party in Tolbukhin displays a formalistic attitude toward the problem of distribution. . . . Owing to the fault of Ganyu Nikolov, in charge of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation, and of Dimitar Ganev, in charge of the Propaganda Section, only 550 people have subscribed to *Rabotnichesko Delo* in the villages of the district.

"This shows that there are still comrades in leading positions who do not realize the guiding role which *Rabotnichesko Delo* and the press in general are playing. Despite the improvement made in the delivery of the paper, the Postal, Telegraph and Telephone Ministry still admits considerable deficiencies. Late delivery of the paper occurs even in Sofia. Subscribers in Sofia, Kolarovgrad and other places complain that they do not receive papers regularly."

Pravda the Example

In honor of *Szabad Nep's* tenth anniversary, February 1 was named "First Hungarian Press Day." On that date *Szabad Nep* published the following editorial, quoted in part, in which *Pravda* is cited as the shining example for a newspaper.

"It was on February 1, ten years ago, that *Szabad Nep* appeared for the first time, as the organ of the illegal Communist Party struggling amidst thousands of dangers and fierce persecution. . . . The illegal *Szabad Nep* was published in only a few hundred copies, but it was published. . . . Today *Szabad Nep* appears in almost 800,000 copies. Its circulation, influence and popularity are several times greater than those of any other paper in the history of the Hungarian press. . . . *Szabad Nep* has become the paper of the entire Hungarian working population because it follows the example of *Pravda* and en-

deavors, by all possible means, to broaden and strengthen its link with the masses. . . ."

Some new conceptions of "freedom of the press" were offered in rebuttal to Western charges:

"The propagandists of the warmongers often shed crocodile tears saying that there is no 'freedom of the press' in Hungary—but what notion can the paid writers of the imperialists have about freedom? Our press is free of all kinds of reactionary limitations and business viewpoints; it is free to serve the cause of the people and to proclaim the truth about nature and society, about our friends and enemies. . . . Our press may learn freely: it may learn of the progressive traditions of the Hungarian press and may follow the example of the most advanced press of the world—the Soviet press."

A spectacular program at the *Varosi* (Municipal) Theater was part of the "First Hungarian Press Day" celebration. Martin Horvath, member of the Party's Political Committee, was speaker of the day. Addresses were also given by representatives of official Communist papers, such as *Pravda*, *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, *Zhenminzhibao* (the organ of the Chinese Communist Party), and *L'Humanite*, (the French Communist newspaper). Excerpts from Martin Horvath's speech follow:

"Until the winter of 1944 . . . it was the self-sacrificing work of the illegal *Szabad Nep* which made it possible for our propaganda to reach the working class and peasant masses, as well as the intellectual strata, above the heads of the so-called labor and peasant leaders, the Peyers and the Ferenc Nagys, traitors manufactured in the workshops of the Horthy Government. *Szabad Nep*, freed from the bonds of illegality, became a weapon used by the strong and unified Central Committee of our Party and by the leader of our Party, Comrade Rakosi. It became a weapon aimed by Comrade Revai, and upon whose trigger Comrade Revai held his finger. . . .

"In the first years, two policies came into conflict; the quartermasters of Anglo-Saxon imperialism, the 'attorneys, bankers, manufacturers, landowners, and Fascists . . . on one side, and our Party representing the interests of all the workers of our nation on the other. . . .

"Today we say that the main task of *Szabad Nep* is to contribute to the building of Socialism. In the present world situation, there can be no Socialistic building without struggle. There is no peace which does not have to be continually and vigilantly protected. . . . Thus the Party's policy . . . means the complete fulfillment and overfulfillment of the Five Year Plan. Therefore, *Szabad Nep* stresses the problems of production, labor competition, and the publication of the exact results achieved, criticizing the most striking mistakes. . . .

"The Party's policy calls for the promotion of a Socialist people's culture. In this respect, the art and literary section of *Szabad Nep* has made much progress. . . .

"The Party's policy calls for the protection of peace. . . . The guarantee of our success is the help extended to us by the ideal of every Communist paper—the Leninist-Stalinist *Pravda*."

Methods of Reporting

The refugee report on *Szabad Nep* which is quoted below gives an "unofficial" picture of the activities and methods of Communist journalists:

"Journalists work in brigades consisting chiefly of workers and young peasants, who present a serious problem to the editors as most of them do not know how to write. Reporters do not work very hard. Instead of going to a given factory when writing a report, they write at their desks, merely phoning to the factory and asking the Party Secretary of the enterprise concerned about the names of workers to be glorified as Stakhanovites. Thus it occurs quite often that the reporter asks the Party Secretary to tell worker X and his colleague Y that they have said this or that to the reporter of *Szabad Nep*. In some cases workers on whose behalf false interviews were published were dissatisfied with the enforced role they had to play, and they called *Szabad Nep* to know why they figured in the story. The same answer always greeted this query, which caused even the most daring interlocutor to keep quiet. 'Yes, but you agree with what we wrote in the paper, do you not?' At this significant question, the caller quickly shares the editor's opinion."

Czechoslovak Daily Replaced

A milestone in the history of Czechoslovak journalism was passed on February 8 when the once great *Lidove Noviny* announced its own demise. It has been succeeded by a new weekly, *Literarni Noviny*, which is not burdened with the associations of independence which once characterized its predecessor. In its last issue, the 59 year old *Lidove Noviny* stated:

"Tomorrow morning, February 9, our readers will receive, instead of the usual copy of *Lidove Noviny*, the first number of *Literarni Noviny*, a new weekly of the Association of Czechoslovak Writers. The Association decided, after thorough consideration and analysis, to replace the daily—which has been published for almost four years since the memorable February days [February 1948, time of the Communist *coup d'etat* in Czechoslovakia]—by a magazine which has been to date lacking in our cultural life: a weekly devoted mainly to cultural, political and artistic problems. Such a magazine is called for by the invigorating effervescence of our present cultural activities not only in the field of writing, but also in fine arts, music, theater, architecture and film. We have tried to meet this need, at least partially, by the Sunday section of *Lidove Noviny*, the *Kulturni Nedele* [Cultural Sunday], while at the same time paying attention mainly to cultural and political matters on the pages of the daily. It is necessary to state self-critically that we have not succeeded as we wished to. . . .

"*Literarni Noviny*, gathering about itself a broad active body of cultural workers, will become a sharp and effective weapon in the fight for Socialistic culture. . . ."

An outstanding exiled Czechoslovak author and journalist, formerly associated with *Lidove Noviny* comments as follows:

"Not only do human beings have destinies, but so do the works of their hands and brains. Central Europe, which during the last decades has been the scene of tragedies, revolutions and occupations has an even more significant fate.

"The history of the Czech daily *Lidove Noviny*, discontinued by the Communists on February 8 for unexplained reasons, is almost like that of a novel—a novel on a part of Czechoslovak modern history and a novel of human destinies.

"*Lidove Noviny* was founded in Moravia in 1893 when Czechoslovakia formed a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. From the beginning it ranked among well known European papers. Its godfathers were men of delicately differentiated political conviction, linked by their devotion to journalism and by their respect for truth and right. Dr. Adolf Stránský, the founder, was a member of the Austrian Parliament representing the Party of Young Czechs. While undergoing considerable sacrifices, he succeeded in building up a newspaper of systematically liberal tendencies and of strict objectiveness—a rare phenomenon in a period of nationalistic struggle and political passions.

"*Lidove Noviny's* standards constantly improved. Its most famous period was at the time of the First Republic, 1918-1938. The editorial staff, under Editor-in-Chief Arnost Heinrich, was joined by gifted young poets and writers who represented, at this crossroad of Western and Eastern culture, the views of humanitarian liberalism prevalent in Central Europe, as expressed in Masaryk's philosophy and later by Edvard Benes.

"[Several years later] under Editors-in-Chief Edvard Bass and then K. Z. Klima, *Lidove Noviny*, the newspaper, acquired the publishing house of F. Borovy, which they developed substantially. This firm, by its new distribution methods, increased the editions of modern Czech literature to an extent almost equal to similar achievements in France, England and the United States.

"In selecting its editors and collaborators *Lidove Noviny* did not pay attention to the political attitude of the individual but only to his value. . . . Arne Novak, literary historian, was in charge of the column on culture, although his philosophy differed from Masaryk's teachings and even though his political opinion was almost diametrically opposed to the opinion of the foreign editor.

"The time of the Republic was not without struggle for *Lidove Noviny*. Due to its prominence and unusually high standards the newspaper was exposed to extremely strong criticism and frequent attacks. . . . Discussions and fights were not only of a political nature, with Communists, chauvinists and other militant extremists. There were also cultural struggles on the conception of Czech history, Czech traditions, on Slovak nationalism and other lively issues.

"*Lidove Noviny's* last non-Communist editor was Ferdinand Peroutka, Czechoslovakia's most prominent journalist. He guided the newspaper through the turbulent post-war years of 1945 to 1948. A relentless fighter in the uphill struggle against Communism, he had to flee the country after the coup.

"The Nazis as well as the Communists considered the newspaper a dangerous element. During the German oc-

cupation, the majority of its editors were jailed and several executed. . . . After the Communist putsch in 1948, the main purpose of the Communist editor, the opportunist Jan Drda, a young and once gifted author, was to kill its liberal spirit.

"The tragi-comic subject of the story is this last Editor-in-Chief. He had been discovered and trained during the Republican era by Editor Bass. During the German occupation Drda fell under the spell of power and glory and in 1945 he decided to gamble by means of his gifts, not for culture, but for political power. He bet on the Communists, won their favor and gained influence, then rewarded the Party by killing the talents of his collaborators as well as his own. Keeping strictly to the Zhdanov line [Soviet propaganda genius who died in 1949], he directed the newspaper against the West, against 'cosmopolitanism,' against compassion, love, hope and reason. In spite of all that he finally failed. The brief note on the supplementary weekly *Literarni Noviny* which will replace *Lidove Noviny* only mentions Drda as a minor contributor. His name does not even appear on the masthead. For the time being, Frantisek Branislav, a poet and person of no special color other than his Communist membership card, is Editor-in-Chief."

To Simplify the Network

A second casualty of the reorganization of the press in Czechoslovakia was *Tvorba* (Prague), which carried the following statement in a front page box on February 14:

"The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has decided to discontinue the publication of *Tvorba* and this is its last issue. The decision is a part of an overall gradual reorganization of the Party press whose aim is to simplify the Party press network and to improve its standards.

"Those readers of *Tvorba* who were mainly interested in its articles concerning literature and fine arts are advised that the Association of Czechoslovak Writers has started the publication of a new political weekly, *Literarni Noviny*.

"Problems of international relations and of the present struggle for peace are the concern of the Soviet weekly *Nova Doba*, which is now being published in Czechoslovak, as well as of the [Cominform organ] *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*.

"Functionaries and members of the Party for whom *Tvorba* helped to clarify political and theoretical problems are advised that steps will be taken to ensure that the monthly *Nova Mysl* fulfills its tasks in this respect better than it has been doing up to now."

Subsequent to *Tvorba's* stilted official explanation of its discontinuance, this brief refugee report was received: "Gustav Bares [*Tvorba's* Editor-in-Chief] has been under house arrest since its suspension. It is also rumored that Prime Minister Zapotocky ordered *Tvorba's* extinction on grounds of 'too many slogans of Jewish inspiration appearing between the lines'."*

* On February 28 a Radio Free Europe correspondent reported: "In the course of the all-out purge initiated after the dismissal of Rudolf Slansky, more than half of the editors of the Czechoslovak News Agency 'CTK' were fired and subsequently arrested during the month of January, 1952. All of them were accused of 'Slansky-ism.'"

A third Czechoslovak weekly, *Hospodar* (Prague), was discontinued on January 1. In this connection the following quotation from *Rude Pravo* (Prague), February 14, is enlightening:

"In its meeting of February 12, 1952, presided over by Antonin Zapotocky, the Government . . . has heard the report of the Minister of Information and Culture, Vaclav Kopecky, concerning steps taken in the field of periodical publications in connection with the tasks of the 1952 economic plan, and has approved these steps. . . ."

News Sources Centralized

On February 9 *Tanjug*, the Yugoslav wire service, commented on the centralized control which characterizes the Satellite press. According to *Tanjug*, layout, type style and cartoons, as well as editorial content, have recently undergone drastic changes in Romania's leading daily in order to conform to the example of *Pravda*. As to news sources:

"In January, 1941, *Scanteia* got 53.6 percent of its news from *Tass* and only 18 percent from the Romanian news agency or from its own sources. In January 1947 this paper had only 25 percent *Tass* news and 43 percent from its own news agency and by its own staff."*

"Agitator's Handbook"

That the printing presses in the captive countries not only turn out propaganda for consumption through the mass media but also propaganda for propagandists is indicated by the following two items, the first about the Bulgarian "Agitator's Handbook" and the second on the Hungarian journalist's "Pocket Calendar."

The "Agitator's Handbook" (*see cut*) is published by the Bulgarian Communist Party and given wide circulation among journalists, Party "stimulators" and lecturers. Presumably translated from a Russian prototype, it consists almost exclusively of Soviet dicta, events of historical importance to the USSR and recommended reading in Russian authors. On January 15 *Rabotnichesko Delo* published the report of a woman agitator, Mara Cholakova, who described how she prepared for her work: "In order to find out the type of literature which I should read I used the 'Agitator's Handbook' published by the Bulgarian Communist Party and in order to prepare my lecture on the Bulgarian Communist Party I had to read the following material:"

'History of the USSR' (the part on the Russo-Japanese War)

'The Surrender of Port Arthur' by Lenin

'The Two Fights' by Stalin

'Address of Comrade Stalin to the People' (September

2, 1945 on the occasion of the Japanese capitulation)

'The History of the Bulgarian Communist Party' (two items)

'The History of the Bulgarian Communist Party' (two items)

'Zushima' a novel by A. Novikov

'January the 9th' by Maxim Gorki

Material by the Soviet writer Mstislavski

The handbook which is referred to above lists the subjects which are to be covered in lectures and reports for the month of January 1952 as follows:

"Under the banner of Lenin, under the leadership of Stalin—for peace and Socialism; Fulfillment of the economic plan for 1951 and tasks of the economic plan for 1952; The successful fulfillment of the plan is evident from the first month of the year on [sic]; Better results in agriculture and higher productivity in cattle-breeding during 1952; The struggle for peace of the USSR in the United Nations."

Pocket Calendar for Journalists

In Hungary, a small blue "Pocket Calendar" performs a function for Hungarian journalists similar to that of the handbook for Bulgarian Party agitators. Published by the Hungarian Printer's Trade Union this daily diary indi-



A translation of the cover follows:

Workers of the World Unite

Handbook of the Agitator

No. 36 December 1951

Section "Propaganda and Agitation of C.C. of B.C.P."

Section for Political Education and Cultural Activity of the N.C. of the Fatherland Front.

* An item on the status of the foreign-language press in Romania was less readily comprehensible. On January 31 *Scanteia* mentioned that *Ce Soir*, the Communist evening paper in Paris, had given high praise to a Communist-sponsored Romanian art exhibit being held in the French capital. One week later, on February 6, Radio Paris announced that *Ce Soir* was banned in Romania and that all copies that had been available in such places as doctors' and dentists' offices and libraries had disappeared.

cates to editors and newsmen the timely subjects which must be covered in the press. The following dates are among the 50 anniversaries listed for comment in 1952:

- "January 2: Five Year Economic Plan launched in 1950
- January 21: Anniversary of Lenin's death
- February 1: Third Hungarian Republic proclaimed in 1946
- February 13: Liberation of Budapest by the glorious Red Army in 1945
- March 8: International Women's Day
- May 1: May Day, celebrated by Communists since 1890
- May 5: Birthday of Marx, born in 1818
- June 28: Yugoslav Communist Party expelled by Information Bureau in 1948
- July 4: Marie Curie died in 1934
- August 5: Death of Engels in 1895
- September 2: Recapture of Buda from the Turks in 1686
- September 12: Founding of the Hungarian Communist Party in 1944
- November 7: 35th Anniversary of the October Revolution
- December 16: Birth of Beethoven in 1770
- December 21: Stalin born in 1879."

II. "SOCIALIST REALISM" IN ART

Several characteristics of art under a Communist regime are depicted in the repetitious and didactic calls for "Socialist realism," samples of which are reproduced below. These show that under Soviet leadership art is intended to be an ideological weapon, directed at the masses, with a pragmatic political objective. In some of the items there is evidence of the peculiar type of cultural nationalism, subjected to a broader allegiance to the USSR, which has recently been encouraged by Communist officials.

Bulgaria's *Otechestven Front* (Sofia) published on December 26 an article entitled "Improvement of the Organizational and Creative Work of the Union of Composers, Musicians and Concert Performers":

"In the name of the people, Vulko Chervenkov, the leader of the Party and the State, has entrusted to the musicians important and responsible tasks. . . . Can we say that the Bulgarian musical works have become dear to our laboring people, that they are entirely freed of the decadent Western European influence and of the various formalistic distortions?

"This question still cannot be answered positively. . . . Bulgarian composers do not pay serious attention to the Bulgarian school song, which instead of playing a leading role in the life of Bulgarian youth, is last on the school repertory. The same is true with the military songs. . . . [Instead] a number of decadent American songs are spread among the youth. . . . The repertory of songs played by restaurant orchestras is not well selected. The music played by these orchestras very often

awakens the feeling of being in a foreign country rather than in Bulgaria.

"With regard to symphonic works more has been accomplished, however. Although, if the programs of symphony orchestras are studied very carefully, it can be observed that Bulgarian symphonic works are still infrequently performed. . . . The matter of establishing a new realistic opera, operettas and ballets has not been planned satisfactorily. On the stage of the Sofia Peoples' Opera House operas by any Russian or Western composer can be heard, but none by a Bulgarian. . . . Bulgarian composers do not avail themselves of the wealth of Soviet experience for a correct orientation of our contemporary musical trend of thought. Bulgarian music is not introduced often enough in concert programs or by the soloists. Further, the artists are neglecting a very important trend—stage art, which plays a significant role in the Soviet Union, and which the working class wants to see."

The opening of a new concert hall in Sofia, announced by Radio Sofia on January 13 followed the usual ritualistic pattern. It was attended by members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, by the Ministerial Council, President Vulko Chervenkov, members of the diplomatic missions of the "Peoples' Democracies" and by the Soviet Plenipotentiary, Mikhael Budrev. Stefan Makedonski, a national artist and Dimitrov Prize winner, thanked the Party, the Government and Chervenkov for their interest in the development "of our national art." Makedonski spoke on behalf of the Theatrical Collective. In a telegram to Stalin, the Collective "pledged to learn from the experience of Soviet artists and to build true art in the service of Socialism."

Music to Reflect Peace Struggle

The annual meeting of the Bulgarian Union of Composers, reported in the January 22 issue of *Vecherni Novini* (Sofia), discussed the potential contribution of new creative works to the "struggle for peace."

"The General Annual Meeting of the Union of Composers, Musicians and Concert Performers closed yesterday. At the meeting a resolution was voted calling on the Union to try to contribute to the struggle for peace in its new creative work. The Union should take serious steps for the ideological and political indoctrination of the people in the musical art. The struggle against the different manifestations of musical formalism and of decaying Western influence must be carried on to the very end, thus unmasking its negative quality and confirming Socialist realism in the art field.

"The Composers must start a systematic struggle in erasing from musical art the harmful Western ideology and decaying theories. They must pay serious attention to our musical inheritance and folk songs. They must also creatively adopt the Soviet experience. Concert performers must strive to make musical art more democratic and thus make it available to the laboring classes in the villages and the cities. All people should be encouraged and directed to favor the new Bulgarian musical works and also the works of the Soviet Union and of the Peoples' Democracies."

"Orpheus" Given Political Emphasis

In announcing that "Orpheus in the Underworld," Offenbach's famous musical comedy, will be presented by the Budapest Municipal Musical Comedy Theater *Magyar Nemzet* (Budapest) explained that the program will also contribute to the cause of peace:

"A political emphasis has been put on the mythological subject of this work, i.e., the Olympus symbolizes imperialism and the underworld, its ally. According to the story, the peace song that Orpheus wrote to his wife, Eurydice, spreads throughout the world and mankind rises against war."

The January issue of *Uj Zenei Szemle* (Budapest), Hungary's monthly musical review similarly stressed the importance of linking the composer with the political struggle of the day:

"With every fiber of his creative ability the composer is linked with the public of today. . . . Contemporary musicians are members of a living social group, thus in the class struggle they side with one or the other party. Hence, when a composer asserts that he does not write for classes, that he is not concerned with politics and that his musical creations are above all class problems—he renounces the Party program, his mission, proving by this the absurdity of not writing for the public. By making such a statement he takes a stand for the ruling, oppressing, exploiting class. Because, for one thing, it is in the interest of the oppressors to deny, distort, and camouflage the facts of the class struggle. Also, even if we were to assume that the composer would be able to preserve neutrality in his art, he would pander to the ruling classes by having sapped the class struggling against the oppressors. He would have deprived them of a weapon, the neutralization of which scores a victory for the exploiters. There is no third way! There are composers who openly side with the oppressors. American jazz music blatantly strives to awaken human instincts that serve the interests of the imperialists."

Formalism and Impressionism Scored

A February 13 broadcast of Radio Bucharest described how "the absence of Socialist principles" still hinders the development of music in Romania:

"The main peril in this respect is cosmopolitanism in its various forms, among which, above all, are formalism and impressionism. [With regard to musical compositions for opera and ballet] the absence of musical criticism based on Socialist principles constitutes one of the grave shortcomings of our musical life. . . . The latest resolution of the Committee of the Union of Composers states that the main task of composers, in order to ensure the progress of musical creations, is to fight for the assimilation of the methods of Socialist realism."

"By learning from the experience of universal classical music, especially Russian music, by thoroughly studying the works of Soviet composers and musicians, by following the examples of Romanian classics, all musicians will achieve new successes and create works based on high ideological and artistic standards which will contribute to the struggle of all working people for the construction of Socialism and the strengthening of the forces of peace."

Two independent refugee reports comment in similar vein on the methods of cultural control in Bulgaria:

"Bulgarian cultural life, if it can still be called such, is completely under the domination of the Committee of Science, Art and Culture, which in turn is dominated and directed by the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. All motion pictures, plays, radio programs, news and magazine items reaching the Bulgarian people are first carefully screened by this committee."

Resistance to Propaganda

The second report mentions the indifference of the people to propaganda shows:

"All films are distributed through the Bulgarian State Cinematography-Office, a state enterprise and branch of the Committee for Science, Art and Culture. Most films shown in Bulgaria, of course, come from the USSR; a few are imported from other Communist countries. They are viewed with indifference, if not hostility, by the people because of their heavy propaganda content, and the audiences are small. To ensure attendance, the Bulgarian Fatherland Front Organization is often obliged to buy blocks of tickets and lead the citizens to the various showings en masse."

A Czechoslovak refugee described similar conditions in his country:

"The movie theaters in Gottwaldov [formerly called Zlin, the site of the Bata shoe industry] are presenting, almost exclusively, 'progressive' pictures of Czechoslovak or Soviet production. Despite great promotion efforts the theaters are poorly filled. In order to increase the audience, tickets are now sold directly in the plants. Communist Party agents talk to the workers individually to persuade them to buy tickets. Agents are rewarded for the sale of a certain number of tickets by being sent to various Party recreation centers. . . . During the summer of 1951 the old Czech picture "Prstýnek" [The Ring] was presented in Gottwaldov. In spite of the fact that no advertisement preceded this showing, people queued up in front of the theater during the entire time it was there."

The Role of the Cinema

"The Motion Picture Industry in the District" was the title of *Vecherni Novini's* article of January 11, which dealt with the aims and development of the cinema in Bulgaria during 1951:

"Under the care of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Government, the motion picture industry has developed consistently. With every year it marks new successes. More and more, the cinema is being used as a mighty device for mass agitation and propaganda in order to indoctrinate the working classes in Socialist spirit and elevate their cultural level."

"During 1951 one of the basic tasks of the People's Councils of the working class in the Sofia district was to ensure the fulfillment of the motion picture industry's plan in the village and to improve the services in the cinemas as well as to attract more people from the working class to the movies."

"Though the cinema industry has achieved considerable success in the district there still are weaknesses

which prevent this industry from becoming a mass agitator and propagandist of the new Socialist culture and policy. Some of the People's Councils of the working class, however, underestimate the role of the cinemas. Thus, the cinema-hall in the village of Leskovo, in the county of El Pelinsko is converted into a warehouse for grain. The cinema-hall in the village of Trekliano, in Kustendil, discontinued projecting films during the summer without any reason at all. In the city of Pirdop, due to lack of movie programs, the hall is being used for meetings. In the city of Trun, the moving picture house stopped showing films for an entire year. The Direction of the Bulgarian Motion Picture Industry has allowed a number of weaknesses to occur. Very often it does not observe the schedules for the timely distribution of films throughout the country."

Geskoslovensky Svet is a magazine published by the Communist Government for Czechoslovaks abroad and has no circulation in Czechoslovakia itself. Thus the author of the letter quoted below from *Svet*, January 12, is able to boast of the success of the "Emperor's Nightingale" in America without facing questions from Czechoslovaks who had no opportunity to see the film. The movie was prohibited in Czechoslovakia, probably because of its theme, a protest against tyranny.

"Dear fellow-countrymen abroad, despite the slander of the American imperialists against us they cannot prevent our cultural achievements from penetrating to America. I recently had a letter from a fellow-countryman in America. . . . Imagine, he could see the puppet film *The 'Emperor's Nightingale'* there. It came to New York after a stay of three weeks in Washington, remaining in New York for 11 weeks with immense success. . . ."

Szabad Nep (Budapest), February 15, in a brief critique of a new Hungarian film, shows that the anti-American campaign has also permeated the movies. ". . . Istvan Somlo is especially good in the role of the American Colonel Thomson. Without the use of any striking effects, he nonetheless makes us hate this cruel, cynical worm. He gives us fleeting glimpses of the man's ruthless brutality, hidden behind a mask of courteousness."

"Unselfish, Friendly Help"

The legitimate theater in Sofia consists of the National Opera, National Theater, Youth National Theater, Labor Front Theater as well as of the theaters of various organizations such as the General Workers Professional Union and others. On January 15, *Vecherni Novini* summarized the progress attained by the Bulgarian theater in 1951 with the "unselfish, friendly help" of the USSR:

"The successes of our people, achieved in the Socialist construction during 1951 are successes in all fields of our life. No doubt, these successes are due to the unselfish, friendly Soviet help, which pushes the development of our economic and cultural life forward.

"In the beginning of 1951, the well known Soviet producer and artist B. A. Bobochkin visited Bulgaria to assist our theater. In its creative development, the Bulgarian theater did not remain aloof from the great

struggle for peace, democracy and Socialism which is undertaken by all peoples throughout the world and is headed by the Soviet Union. The plays staged at the National Theater, such as *'Leipzig 1933'*, *'The Voice of America'*, *'South of the 38th Parallel'*, as well as other plays staged at theaters throughout the country, indicate that the Bulgarian theater is active in the struggle for peace.

"Along with the successes, during 1951 a number of faults and shortcomings were noted. It is necessary to improve the speaking technique and to master the correct stage speech. It is also necessary to inculcate the method of criticism and self-criticism in creative work and in personal relations, and to uproot all remnants of bourgeois individualism. Thus, following the experience of Soviet artists and studying our rich theatrical inheritance under the guidance of the Party and the People's Government, our theater has achieved and will achieve great success."

A refugee report from Bulgaria noted the special treatment given actors:

"As in the USSR and its orbit countries, the world of the Bulgarian theater is held in great esteem by the Government, and stars are both highly paid and richly honored with awards, decorations, titles and the like. As a result, many of the artists who received their training and first recognition under the old regime have sold out to the Communists."

Painting and Sculpture

At a recent convention of painters and sculptors in Warsaw, attended by Communists from the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, France, Holland, Belgium and England, many speeches were made which clarify the Communist point of view on art. *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), January 18, described the general tenor of the occasion:

"After several papers were read and the discussions were over, G. A. Niedosziwin, an outstanding art theoretician and Chairman of the Soviet Delegation, took the floor. He praised the second Polish Nationwide Exhibition of painting and sculpture, saying that in his opinion it was a great stride forward on the road toward the art of 'Socialist Realism.' It is a joyful fact, said the Chairman, 'that Polish art was able to turn to the people . . . that is the basic and important thing. . . . Underlining the achievements of Soviet painters and sculptors in their struggle with formalism and naturalism, the Soviet delegate referred to the decisive moment for the appearance of Socialist art which reflects the truth of our era in created art.' The speech of the Soviet delegate was greeted warmly. The floor was then given to Vice-Minister [of Culture and Arts] W. Sokorski in order to sum up the discussion. The speaker stated that the discussion had indeed covered the struggle for Socialist realism in art. Our general line of struggle for this art was stated by the great Marxist classics and by the statements of Stalin, Zhdanov, and by many of the Soviet artists. This line does not change in its fundamentals, but when faced with our new achievements and mistakes, it demands constant development and saturation with new values."

At the conclusion of the convention a wire was sent to President Bierut which ended in the following, as quoted from *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), January 20:

"Learning from the achievements of Soviet art and creatively transvaluating progressive traditions of Polish culture, we are stronger than ever before in creating the strength and beauty of Socialist structure in our country. We Polish painters and sculptors promise you, Citizen President, to create a new great Polish People's art which will be of Socialist content and of national character."

An *Agerpress* report from Paris which was quoted by *Scanteia* (Bucarest), January 31, described the Romanian Art Exhibition in Paris (see page 32) organized under the auspices of the "Friends of Romanian Art". The exhibition opened on January 11 with Picasso and Fougerson in attendance. *Scanteia* reports that: "The visitors . . . very much appreciated the works and realizations of the Romanian People's Republic's artists in developing a 'realist-Socialist' art." French communist papers such as "*Ce Soir*," "*Parallele 50*" and "*Lettres Francaises*" praised the exhibition highly. *Parallele 50* wrote: "The diversity and variety of the subjects really strike the visitors immediately. . . . The Romanian Art Exhibition in Paris constitutes a new victory of Romanian realist and Socialist art abroad."

III. CHURCHES UNDER STATE DOMINATION

Religious news from the Communist-dominated countries of middle Europe has been surprisingly sparse in recent months. Open persecution is nowhere evident, although indirect pressure is constantly applied to stifle any major recrudescence of religious freedom. The situation has been summed up by one observer in these words:

"These are times of intense anguish for all men of God in the enslaved nations of Europe. Religious activities have continued within and without the narrow confines of the totalitarian regimes, for the Communists have taken pains to keep overt religious persecution to a minimum, preferring to apply their police methods secretly in dark corners, from fear of creating martyrs. Faith, of course, continues to grow and blossom, for faith will always be reborn in men. . . . Afraid to abuse the Church, the Communists have rather endeavored to use it, by creating false apostles and preaching a false gospel in the Church's name."

Most of the news which was received concerned the Orthodox Church. The report quoted below was made by a member of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church who escaped in December, 1951:

"The demoralization of the Bulgarian Orthodox clergy is the main object of Communist anti-Church activities at the present stage. No physical violence against top-ranking Orthodox clergy has recently occurred. However, Church dignitaries arrested during previous years are still detained.

"A Communist Party member, Ivan Bogdanov, has been forced upon the Union of Priests as the Union's President. Bogdanov is trying to 'modernize' religion

and to force Bulgaria's 2,500 Orthodox priests into the support of the regime. Bogdanov is said to be the agent of the Religious Affairs Department of Bulgaria's 'State Security'. . . . Bogdanov is particularly anxious to induce some 300 priests who have lost their wives and who under canonic regulations are not allowed to remarry to press for the abolishment of this 'outmoded restriction.' At a recent meeting with priests, Bogdanov said: 'Even a priest needs a life-companion, for physiological and social reasons. . . . The restriction is a canonic regulation not a dogma. It can be altered.' Government authorities encourage other breaches of Church discipline and use every opportunity to weaken the prestige of the anti-Communist Holy Synod. . . .

Pilgrimages Banned

"Mass pilgrimages to the Monastery of Rila, Bulgaria's Mecca and the cradle of her political and cultural renaissance, have been banned by the government 'as they took a demonstrative character.' The body of the late King Boris III, first buried at this monastery, was removed by government order and transferred to an unknown destination. . . .

"The garden of the Theological Seminary in Sofia, one of the largest and finest in the country, has been requisitioned for the use of the Bulgarian-Soviet Friendship Society. It has been turned into an amusement park, with dancing, movies, open-air restaurants, and the like. . . .

The Status of Church Dignitaries

"The following has been reported about the highest church dignitaries: H.B.I. Stephan, the Exarch of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, is still being kept as a semi-prisoner at Bania, a village in the central Balkan mountains. He is not allowed to leave this town, where he lives in an isolated villa with a nephew.

"Archimandrite Kalistrat, former Superior of the Rila Monastery is being kept in the Central Prison of Sofia. Kalistrat was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on charges of espionage in 1950. Neither his trial nor the sentence was announced in the Bulgarian press. Kalistrat, who is a former Bulgarian Army Colonel, is still an important target of Communist hatred in the country. A colorful figure, he resisted an attempt by a young Communist group in 1946 to invade his monastery's basilica, to exhume the body of King Boris III. Kalistrat stood in front of the royal tomb and solemnly declared: 'You will only pass over my dead body.'

"The murder in 1950 of Metropolitan Boris of Nevrokop was ascribed to a 'drunk, depraved priest.' Today, however, the clergy is asserting that the Metropolitan was murdered by Communists.

"In 1944-1945 three other Metropolitans, Kiril of Plovdiv, Payssiy of Vratza and Philaret of Lovetch were arrested and beaten up. . . . Since the establishment of the Communist regime, approximately 250 Orthodox priests have been arrested and sent to prison or labor camps without trial."

Orthodox Church Favored

Another phase of the Communist program "to use" the churches in captive Europe is shown by their policy of

favoring the Orthodox Church in Poland and Czechoslovakia. This has been interpreted as part of a plan to supplement the integration of these countries with the Soviet Union by means of a mutual church. In Czechoslovakia the Orthodox Church is a small minority of approximately 33,000 (according to 1930 statistics). On December 11, *Lidove Noviny* reported that whereas "until now the Orthodox Church was not an independent church, upon the suggestion of Bishop Cestmir of Olomouc-Brno, Jelevferij,* the Exarch of the Moscow patriarchy, was elected Metropolitan of Prague and of all Czechoslovakia. Jelevferij's installation as the first Metropolitan of the [new] Independent Orthodox Church in the Czechoslovak Republic took place on Sunday, December 9, in the Cathedral of St. Cyril and Methodius in Prague."

The situation in Poland with regard to the Orthodox Church appears more complicated from the report which follows:

"Before World War II the Polish Orthodox Church enjoyed autonomous status granted by the Patriarch in Constantinople. After the war the Orthodox Church in Eastern Poland was incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church and placed under the jurisdiction of the patriarchy of Moscow. In Central and Western Poland the Church retained its own organization, but likewise lost its autonomous status and became dependent on Moscow, although this was done against the will of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

"Another group, the Uniate Church, in pre-war Poland had liturgic rites similar to the Orthodox Church, but was nonetheless a part of the Roman Catholic Church. When Southern and Eastern Poland were incorporated into the Soviet Union, the Uniate Church was 'converted' under pressure into the Orthodox Church.

"Recently the Russian Patriarch of Moscow sent Metropolitan Makary to Poland as Metropolitan of the Polish Orthodox Church. Metropolitan Makary, instead of concerning himself with the members of the Polish Orthodox Church, is travelling through the country searching for Uniates who may be masking as Roman Catholics of Western rite in order to 'convert' them to the Orthodox creed. The Uniates, however, are hiding their faith for fear of repercussions. As in 1946 and 1947 Makary gained prominence in the Soviet Orthodox Church when he took an active part in the liquidation of the Uniate Church in the Eastern Polish territories incorporated into Russia. He was responsible for the deportation of resisting Uniate priests and for the fact that Uniate churches and the administration of parishes were taken over by Orthodox priests."

In Hungary, the Communist press has recently on many occasions referred to Cyula Czapik, Archbishop of Eger, as "Metropolitan" Czapik. This title, which is customary in the Orthodox Church where it refers to autonomous Archbishops, is scarcely ever used by the Roman Catholic Church. Hungarian Catholics feel that this seemingly minor misuse of a title is a significant forewarning to Hun-

garian Catholics that attempts may be made ultimately to incorporate them into the Orthodox Church.

Political Questioning of Priests

Although overt persecution of the Church may have been minimized momentarily behind the Iron Curtain, this Hungarian refugee report describes a form of discrimination not notable for its subtlety:

"January, 1952, marked a new phase in political pressure against Hungarian priests. Through county cadre divisions of the State Office of Church Affairs, a new registration of Catholic clergy has begun. Those summoned were required to answer an 86-point questionnaire on such points as: 1. Their views on the relationship between Church and State; 2. Their views as to the integration of Catholic and Communist doctrine. Some of the questions demanded an exhaustive knowledge of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinism.

"The fate of the summoned priests depends on the results of this investigation. If their replies are satisfactory they may continue their functions. If not, they are blacklisted and forced to give up their priestly activities, or possibly sent to prison. Since December, 26 priests have been removed from Budapest parishes. Among them is Ferenc X. Szunyogh, a widely known Benedictine church scholar and apostle of the liturgical movement in Hungary."

Protestants Attacked

The persecution of Protestants in Bulgaria is described by a recent Bulgarian escapee, himself a member of the Orthodox Church:

"Bulgaria's 15,000 Protestants continue to be the target of systematic persecution and discrimination by the Communist leaders in Sofia. During the last two years 40 Protestant ministers were arrested in addition to the 15 clergymen imprisoned in 1949. The imprisonment of the 40 ministers was never publicized in Bulgaria and no further information can be elicited. Protestants, as well as other minorities, are the responsibility of the Foreign Ministry's Special Section on Religious Affairs.

"The 15 Protestant pastors sentenced to various terms of imprisonment during 1949 as American 'spies' are still being held in Sofia's Central Prison. They are receiving insufficient food and are being kept under incessant mental strain, alternately raising their hopes and dashing them. Through these methods some of the ministers are on the verge of mental and physical collapse. The wife of one minister, Zypkov, who previously was authorized to visit him every 15 days but now is only permitted to see him once every six months, exclaimed when last seeing him: 'This cannot be my husband.' Zypkov's mental condition is alarming. . . .

"An individual who was present at the trial of the 15 ministers has revealed that not all of them gave 'full confessions.' One of them, Ivanov, flatly rejected the accusation of espionage. Another, Stoyanov, started his testimony with the words, 'I do not believe in man because man is weak and lies when he is in trouble.' Then, he drew out a notebook from his pocket and read from it a number of startling 'confessions.'"

* Jelevferij is a Soviet citizen who came to Czechoslovakia from Moscow after the war. He is reputedly in Stalin's favor.

News Briefs

Keyed Words

A dictionary listing words of foreign derivation incorporated in the Hungarian vocabulary was recently published in Budapest. New definitions, keyed to Communist ideology, are found in the following examples:

"Dictatorship: an unlimited power; **dictatorship of the proletariat:** executive power of the proletariat, which is brought about by a revolutionary overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the demolition of the structure of a bourgeois state."

"Idealism: a reactionary, anti-scientific trend in philosophy . . . closely connected with religion. . . . Throughout the history of philosophy, it is identified with the ideology of the reactionary classes."

"Revolution: the most vital phase in the evolution of society. . . . It is a sudden, steep transition from an old to a new social order. . . . It is the collapse of an antiquated social structure, the consolidation of a progressive social order, the coming to power of a leading progressive class."

"Terror: use of violence, going as far as physical destruction of the object. . . ."

"Zionism: a Jewish petit-bourgeois nationalistic movement, which sees the solution of the Jewish problem not in the annihilation of a class, but in the concentration of Jews in Palestine. . . ."

Some foreign words of English origin received special attention:

"Gangster: a bandit, member of the robbing gang in the USA. For their business enterprises based on robbery, gangsters use diversified methods such as plunder, murder, bribes, intimidation, and extortion with the assistance of official persons in their pay. Gangsters have offices and form syndicates. Monopolists and bosses use them for their undercover work."

"Shopping: buying in stores; morning occupation of women of leisure in capitalistic countries."

"Self-made man: term applied in capitalistic countries to men who 'make their own way'; i.e., to those who make fortunes by means of exploitation, cheating and speculation."

Red Methuselahs

Radio Riga (Latvia), February 8, broadcast a lecture by Olga Lepesninska on the subject of longevity:

"Every person in our country hopes to live to see the fulfillment of the glorious era of Communism. . . . Some assert that in the Soviet Union many people reach the age of 150-200 years. Such longevity is the result of good living. . . . The mortality rate in the capitalistic countries is rising, because the people there work too hard. Youth does not have time to grow up before becoming old. The bourgeois scientists, instead of studying ways to prolong life, are working on plans for the annihilation of the human race."

Secrecy a Mania

A Polish official cannot leave his office without locking even his empty desk drawers, reports a Warsaw correspondent:

"According to a new Polish law which prescribes severe punishment for violators, special Party cells check offices every evening to see that all drawers have been properly locked. An unlocked drawer, even if there is nothing in it, is considered a violation."

"The mania for state secrecy has become so general in Polish officialdom that even the most routine papers are labelled top secret, thus greatly increasing the red tape in administrative affairs."

Courtesy Outmoded

A refugee who left Bulgaria in January explains:

"The Bulgarian language is being 'socialized.' The most striking example is the dropping of the polite form of address. Its usage can no longer be tolerated in a 'progressive' and classless society. Since all people are equal, there is no place for deference to age and station in life. It is only *ti* [you, second person familiar]. *Vie* [you, second person formal] implies a reactionary and subservient attitude. . . ."

"There is no more Mister, Mrs. or Miss. These words have vanished from the Bulgarian language. All of them have been replaced by one single word—Comrade."

How Heroes are Made

A 28-year old construction foreman from Sztalinvaros,

Hungary, who achieved the title of Stakhanovite three times in the course of his career, escaped in December and gave the following account of his achievements as a shock-worker:

"I worked in the construction industry for four years. I was employed by the 'Factory Construction Enterprise of Budapest' and I was assigned to work with reinforced concrete. I overfulfilled the norms . . . by 50% to 100%. Naturally I have to concede that I achieved these results with the aid of small tricks. All workers try to find a way to achieve high norms, at least officially; workers especially skilled in camouflaging their petty frauds may easily overfulfill their quotas and thus achieve the title of Stakhanovite. As my grandfather and my father were employed in the construction industry, I knew quite a few such tricks which I could now put to use in order to exceed the norms.

"I became a Stakhanovite for the first time in 1949. On this occasion, a workers' contest was carried out in the Bamert Plants in honor of Stalin's birthday. As a good worker I deemed it necessary to participate in this contest. I was a member of a workers' brigade that had to bend iron rods used in certain kinds of construction. Two weeks before the date set for the contest, we started collecting rods already bent, and I hid them in a sandpile in the factory yard. On Stalin's birthday, we pretended to work hard. Our main task was to find the right moment to get the hidden rods out of the sand. Finally we managed to retrieve them and in that way were able to display 14 bunches of bent iron rods. The fact that most of the rods had been bent before the contest escaped the attention of the authorities. This is how we overfulfilled the quotas by 1538%. The result was that I was named the third best worker of the country!

"Based on this and other achievements, I became a popular hero in Hungary. The Communist press wrote long articles about me and my picture decorated the walls of plants and offices. I was presented to the workers as a shining example of efficiency. . . ."

Diocletian Palace Restored

Yugoslavia's *Borba* (Belgrade), January 20, printed a story on the restoration of the Diocletian Palace, a well-known archeological site:

"During the war various parts of the Diocletian Palace in Split [Dalmatia] were destroyed by bombing, thus enabling the workers to make new discoveries in the palace itself which heretofore had been hidden by recent buildings. Thus, where a block of military hospitals was destroyed, the foundations of a medieval church built by the famous master Guraj Dalmatinac in the 15th century were uncovered. This part of the palace has quite a different appearance today. The ruins of the building erected by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy are now removed and in front of the northern wall there is now a large square. The ground has been levelled with the foundations of the palace and some valuable ancient specimens were found, including an Egyptian sphinx of polished granite.

"After the removal of further buildings the eastern part of the palace also became more visible. The Silver Door of the Diocletian Palace appeared where a Vene-

tian wall had been hiding it. A walled courtyard with arches, arcades and niches was discovered here. Near the door were the remnants of an octagonal tower and an interior defense courtyard. The door has been almost entirely restored. It is known that the entrance into the palace was through four doors: the Golden, Silver, Iron and Brass Doors. . . . During the cleaning of the palace basements many secret rooms, corridors and cellars were found."

Meanwhile, behind the Iron Curtain the process is being reversed, according to a Bulgarian escapee:

"The Communist authorities in Sofia have decided to raze to the ground the historic cathedral of Svete Nedjela, which they had attempted to blow up in a Communist attack in 1925. A 16-story skyscraper will replace the cathedral and will be known as 'Soviet House.' According to the reconstruction plan for the Sofia city center, the Turkish mosque will also be demolished."

Warning to Jitterbugs

A Budapest correspondent reports that a new device has lately been introduced by the Communist regime to determine which young people are still under the influence of Western culture:

"In several Budapest districts, DISZ (Communist Youth Organization) secretaries have received confidential orders to see that, during the weekly dances, the orchestra occasionally plays an American boogie-woogie tune. Where there is no orchestra, at least one American record should be played along with the usual Russian and Hungarian people's democratic party-songs. 'In the Mood' and 'Chattanooga Choo-Choo' are the selections favored by the DISZ secretaries. Naturally, most youngsters are perfectly happy to dance to swing and other imperialist rhythms. Reliable Party members leave the floor in disgust.

"From now on, those guilty of 'responding' to this bait will be summoned by the DISZ secretary and warned that they are on the way to becoming 'spiritual agents of the imperialists.' This could entail grave consequences, since they may be reported to higher Party circles as reactionaries."

A Reactionary Ghost

Rovnost (Brno), January 5, carried an article on the visitations of a ghost in the South Moravian border area of Czechoslovakia:

"During recent months, a woman in black appeared in the fields and streets of the restful town of Znojmo. She usually came at dusk. There were many people who were willing to swear that the Black Lady was tall to the height of nine or ten feet and that she was impervious to bullets. Others claimed that she was a giant robot directed from a distance by modern technical means, a robot that would strangle solitary walkers. The result of the activities of the Black Lady was a refusal by several panic-stricken workers to go on night shifts in the Znojmo District. Farm workers hurriedly left the fields at dusk and tractor drivers refused to plough in the evening.

"The Black Lady did not exist only in the imagination of superstitious and unprogressive people, but in reality. She appeared in the streets on October 23, wearing high black boots, a long black coat, a black scarf over her head and a large white cross on her breast, with a gun in her outstretched hand. Members of the Security Corps definitely were not intimidated by the Black Lady. The mysterious apparition was revealed as Madame Musilova, 43 years old, from Znojmo, inspired by hysterical ideas in her attempt to disturb the peaceful work of the people by these indiscriminate means. She tried to convince the police that this whole performance was aimed at frightening her husband on his way home from work. Musilova and her helpers were sentenced to prison for three months, because by their action they supported the reactionary campaign of confusing and disorganizing our people....

"Light has come into the dark mystery of Znojmo...."

Fight Fire With — Politics?

Rude Pravo (Prague), January 20, quoted a speech by Minister of the Interior Vaclav Nosek at a meeting of the Czechoslovak Union of Firemen:

"... We still have to improve and to strengthen the organization of fire protection, and to arouse the interest of the masses, including women and youth. To follow the example of the Soviet Fire Brigades means constant improvement of the activities of the Fire Units, constant development of their political education, and vigilance lest the Fire Units turn into hiding places for counter-revolutionary elements.... It also means that we must eliminate the old informal club spirit and start working along new lines."

Meanwhile, a teacher from Southern Moravia who recently escaped to Austria writes: "Many teachers in order to avoid political activities, join the Fire Brigades voluntarily. In Moravia, these units are often made up of former members of outlawed Catholic organizations."

Unfit for Human Consumption

Despite recent rich wheat harvests, the bread which constitutes the chief staple in the Bulgarian diet is reportedly inedible, full of impurities such as chips of wood and bits of string. A Sofia correspondent describes the people's distress:

"In this city, dissatisfaction was manifested by a series of lively incidents between the State bakeries and indignant customers. The situation is deteriorating rapidly. Instead of releasing the flour from the 1951 harvests, the regime, contrary to its promises, continues to supply the bakeries with flour from the preceding harvests which has become musty through bad storage. Many cases have been reported where the official authorities were forced to seize hundreds of kilos of bread found to be dangerous. This bread, which is rationed and sold by coupon, is mud-colored. Sometimes bread found unfit for consumption is soaked in water, added to flour, rebaked and sold again!

"This situation is naturally causing discontent, and the Communist government has now decided on a 'diversion' maneuver, flagrant in its attempt at deception. At the request of the Central Committee, the government

has started a 'campaign for better bread', thus officially confirming the fact that the bread is inferior. The maneuver is quite obvious. Against whom is this campaign to be directed if not against the government authorities? It is they who hold the stocks of wheat, they who control the mixing of flour and its distribution to the bakeries. Bakers have never yet been known to make good bread with bad flour.

"It is clear that the government is looking for scapegoats, and some unfortunate bakers are bound to bear the consequences. The government cannot confront itself with its own crimes, and the penalty must therefore be paid by innocent victims who will be accused of sabotage and profiteering."

"May Stalin Live Forever!"

Recent refugees report the following anecdote from Czechoslovakia:

"A burglar had broken into the home of a Prague family. The police had no difficulty in reconstructing the case. Members of the family had a habit of writing notes to each other and pinning them to the door. On this occasion the first note was from the head of the family: 'Returned from work at 6:30 and am leaving for the preparatory class of Marx-Lenin studies. Will return about 10. Long live Stalin! Father.'

"The next note came from the mother: 'Returned from the office at 6:45. Must leave to attend the Peace Committee meeting of the Women's League. Long live Stalin! Mother.'

"The third note was from the daughter: 'Have to attend the youth brigade rally on behalf of the People's Democratic Fighters in Korea. Will be back at 11. Long live Stalin! Lida.'

"The son had written: 'Returned from work at 7:40. Have to attend the Youth League meeting. Will be home about midnight. Long live Stalin! Milos.'

"The fifth note was the shortest: 'Arrived at 8 o'clock. Will not be back. May Stalin live forever! [Signed] The thief.'"

Too Many Conferences

During 1951, the executive committee of Estonia's consumer-cooperative association convened 157 times, or almost every other day, according to *Rahva Häl* (Tallinn), January 27:

"When do members of the committee find time to do any work between their conferences?... The committee met on December 29 to study a report from the Tartu section of the association. The report showed that the plan for capital investment had only been fulfilled by 61 percent, and the committee ordered the section to fulfil it 100 percent by December 31; i.e., in two days. If the magicians in the Tartu section really complied with the orders, they should be shown around as a kind of circus attraction...."

Rahva Häl quoted the late Russian revolutionary poet Majakovski:

"Oh, when will there be
A conference
About
The abolition of conferences?"

Paperwork Stakhanovite

The letter below, reproduced from *Ludas Matyi* (Budapest), January 31, illustrates Party red tape carried to an extravagant degree. In it, the head of a provincial branch of the National Rationing Department issued written instructions to himself, officially signed and stamped by himself:

Országos Közellátási Jegyközpont
Baranyamegyei Kirendeltsége, Pécs
Kiküldetési rendelőny.

Zolarek István kurtársnak, Helyben. Ulasítom, hogy a december 21-i felajánlásokban járja le a kirendeltségeket és az önálló jegyfiókokat és a szakmai tudás emelésére a szükséges instrukciókat adja meg.

Pécs, 1951. november 30.



Zolarek István

Zolarek István
Kirendeltségvezető

National Rationing Department
Baranya County Branch, Pécs,
Commission.

To colleague Istvan Zolarek; I instruct you to visit the branches and individual rationing stations as a special offering for December 21 [Stalin's Birthday] in order to promote technical knowledge by issuing the necessary instructions.

Pécs, November 30, 1951.

[Signed] Istvan Zolarek
Branch Manager

Stamp with hammer and
sickle in the center

Jewish Old Age Home Closed

An Istanbul news source writes this footnote to the chapter on anti-semitism in Hungary:

"The largest Jewish Home for the Aged in Budapest was closed by the Communist authorities in January. Its 450 inmates, most of them over 70 years old, were ordered to leave Budapest and are now being resettled in various provincial towns north of Budapest.

"Similarly, another old age home in Budapest was closed by the authorities in the autumn, and the building was requisitioned by the AVH [Political Police]. The old people were distributed among the already overcrowded institutions of the Budapest Jewish community which had not yet been closed up."

Two months earlier *Nepszava* (Budapest), November 11, carried an article which stated: "Our government . . . guarantees the right to a peaceful and comfortable old age."

Russians Turn On the Heat

While Hungarian industry and Hungarian dwellings suffer from an acute coal shortage, Russian establishments in Hungary are amply provided with fuel, according to a recent refugee:

"For weeks now, the Hungarian Meteorological Institute has been reporting temperatures of about 35 degrees Fahrenheit. Under an existing government decree, at this temperature apartment houses must be heated twice a day. So far, however, the tenants have been given heat only once a day. Industrial establishments receive their coal supplies on a day-to-day basis. Lately, some factories have not been receiving their daily quotas, and the cold has caused setbacks in production. . . .

"The situation is quite different in Russian establishments. In the former Corvin Department store in Budapest, now a Soviet enterprise, a temperature of 60 to 70 degrees is maintained throughout the day. In all Russian houses, such as those in Gorky Street in Budapest, the temperature by law may be far higher than in Hungarian houses. There is no lack of fuel in the officers' barracks of the AVH [Political Police]. All are comfortably heated."

Famous Composer Dies

Radio Riga, December 24, reported that Alfred Kalnins, distinguished modern Latvian composer, died in Riga on December 23 at the age of 77. Although he never wrote any music for the Communists, his authority was so great that he was left unassailed by the regime. He was head of the Riga Conservatory in 1945 when the Russians occupied Latvia. One of his best known songs is the "Chorus of the Riders."

Refugees Urged to Return

In an effort to reclaim refugees living abroad, the Hungarian government issued an amnesty on October 5: "Hungarians who left the country illegally may return without consequences until April 4, 1952." According to a Budapest correspondent, the regime is now exerting pressure on the relatives of refugees:

"Factory and house wardens, supplied with a list of persons with relatives abroad, are asking them to write letters requesting the relatives to return to Hungary. The letters must stress the glories of Socialism and the prosperity of the working class. At the same time the writer must assure the emigrants that no one who returns voluntarily to Hungary will be punished.

"One reason for this campaign is that every effort of the Hungarian diplomatic missions abroad to make the amnesty a success has been in vain. Since September 1951 there has not been one application for repatriation."

Grammar, Enemy of the People

A widely-quoted anecdote parodies the exaggerated vigilance of Party functionaries in Cominform countries:

"In a primary school behind the Iron Curtain, the teacher is explaining to the pupils the order in which words should go in an interrogative sentence. A political

inspector, an almost illiterate man appointed by the Ministry of Education, is present in the classroom.

"The teacher first gives an affirmative sentence: 'We love Comrade Stalin.' She wishes this sentence to be put in the interrogative form. The pupils are silent and bewildered, so the teacher gives the example: 'Do we love Comrade Stalin?'"

"At this, the school inspector leaps to his feet and shouts: 'That is absurd! The workers' love for Comrade Stalin is so evident that nobody may doubt it. What the teacher says is simply counter-revolutionary propaganda. To jail!'"

"And the teacher disappears from the world of the living."

Low Pay, High Price

In a Hungarian-language broadcast on January 14, Radio Belgrade declared:

"Most Hungarian workers now receive 800-1000 *forints* monthly, while Soviet so-called experts receive 20-30,000 *forints*. For the cheapest winter overcoat a Hungarian worker must pay 800 *forints*. The 'experts', however, may buy the same coat for 300 *forints* at special stores for Russians. It is only natural that if the pay of the Hungarian worker is low, at least prices should be high!"

"This is what 'Soviet aid to Hungary' means. Hungarian propaganda is trying with scant success to show what a tremendous service these Soviet experts are rendering to the country. So far, Soviet wares in Hungary have been as scarce as Soviet experts are numerous. Signs reading 'Made in USSR' should be hung round their necks."

Mozart Interpreted

The Czechoslovak *Lidove Noviny* (Prague), December 5, announced:

"Mozart was, no doubt, a popular artist. . . . He was a man of the new era, visualizing the coming of a new class, listening to the thunder of popular revolutions. But, only our society of today, having eliminated exploitation of man by man, fully understands Mozart's art."

Strange Fruit

A delegation of Hungarian agricultural experts was sent to the Soviet Union in October. One of the members of this delegation, Professor Andras Somos, was quoted in *Szabad Nep* (Budapest), November 18:

"We saw quite a new variety of fruit called *aktinidia*, of which Michurin had produced several new improved varieties. *Aktinidia* is one of the most wholesome and nourishing fruits ever consumed by man. It is extremely rich in Vitamin C. Its Vitamin C content is 40-50 times greater than that of tomatoes or apples."

Masaryk Avenue Renamed

According to a refugee recently escaped from Czechoslovakia: "Masaryk Avenue, the principal street of the city of Kladno, has officially been renamed the 'Avenue of

the Red Army'. For this occasion a great 'celebration' was organized, in which the army, the National Security Corps, the Pioneers [Boy Scouts], and the members of the League of Czechoslovak Youth took part."

A Diplomatic Ruse

A Polish refugee reports that the following anecdote is now popular in his former homeland:

"A Communist minister arrived in the principal town of a Polish industrial region. He declared to the local governor that he wished to make a speech in the presence of 50,000 people. The governor assured him that he would assemble the required number of listeners. But a few hours later, the minister telephoned the governor and told him that 50,000 would not be enough, because, after all, this would be a manifestation of the people's confidence in the beloved government of the People's Democracy. For this reason at least 100,000 must be gathered."

"Twenty-four hours before the mass meeting, the Communist minister once more increased his request and asked for 200,000. The governor moaned but agreed to do what he could. The day of the great mass demonstration arrived, and in fact huge throngs were assembled on the main square. After the meeting the Communist minister, who was very pleased, asked the governor how he managed to assemble so many people. The governor, after making sure that he would not be punished, confessed:

"You see, Comrade, when the problem was to assemble 50,000 people, I was not worried. The secret police, the police force in uniform, government officials and state employees would make up the number. But when you asked for 100,000 listeners I was greatly embarrassed, so I ordered the rumor spread that the Russians were leaving and that General Anders on a white horse leading Polish armed forces from England would make his entrance in the market square. But when you asked for 200,000, I was really in despair. I could see no way but to announce the hanging of several ministers of our beloved People's Democracy in the market place. Of course, everybody came."

"Move, Little Goslings . . ."

Reports from Czechoslovakia disclose that many popular songs have been banned because their text has been found "objectionable". One refugee wrote:

"For example, it is forbidden to play or sing the popular folk song 'There used to be, there used to be good times . . .'. Also banned is the well-known folk ditty 'Red and white, that's what I like' [red and white are the colors of the Czechoslovak flag]."

"Many texts of other popular songs have been altered by the foes of the Communist regime. For instance, the song 'Move, little goslings, move on . . .' has new lines today ridiculing Gottwald, his wife Marta, Zapotocky, Jankovcova and others. The new version of the song begins: 'Move, little goslings, move on, through the Soviet paradise. . .'. Needless to say, the Communists have forbidden any song which has been parodied by the people."

No Guarantee

A joke in Romania concerns a peasant who was called upon to contribute 10,000 *lei* to the latest state loan. The peasant was apprehensive about the probable fate of his hard-earned money:

"Who guarantees," he asked, "that I shall ever get it back?"

"Our beloved comrade, Ana Pauker," replied the state employee.

"Yes, but what if she dies?" the peasant persisted.

"Then the Party will guarantee your money."

The peasant reflected stolidly. He was not reassured.

"Yes, but what if the Party is dissolved?" he queried.

Exasperated, the employee threw down his pen: "You lout, wouldn't it be worth losing 10,000 *lei* for that?"

"Democratic Toys for Children"

A news source asserts that the Hungarian toy industry has been directed to produce propaganda toys:

"Under the slogan 'Democratic Toys for Children', the Ministry of Light Industry has ordered the Hungarian toy industry to manufacture toys for propaganda. These toys, mostly figures wearing police, apprentice, mining, guerilla and army uniforms, appear in the show windows of the stores at a low price. At the same time, the price of regular toys has been increased. One propaganda doll costs 16-18 *forints*, while a 'civilian doll' costs 40-150 *forints*. The manufacture of big toys like bicycles, wagons and toy cars has been discontinued. The Planning Office does not allocate raw material for their production."

Dissatisfied Customer

A letter to the editor of *Prace* (Prague), January 12, describes the frustrations involved in dealing with the nationalized consumer services of Czechoslovakia:

"Exactly one year ago, on January 5, I wanted to have a coat altered and took it to the Clothing Service in Litvinov. It needed to be let out about one inch. The coat was supposed to have been finished in six weeks. When I went back, I found that it had been taken in about five inches. I was assured that the mistake would be remedied, but the repairs seemed to be taking forever, and finally the manager called and informed me that the coat was completely spoiled and nothing could be done about it. . . . The manager of the Clothing Service contacted the Central Office in Usti and repeatedly asked for a refund for me, and finally I wrote there myself. I received some rather vague replies, but no ac-

tion was taken. Only now I have learned that the Clothing Service is shutting down and all its assets and liabilities are being assumed by the Municipal Plant in Litvinov. The Clothing Service in liquidation, as well as the Municipal Plant, did not even give any consideration to a letter on my behalf by the legal advisor of the Stalin Works, my employer."

Since the minimum price of a coat in Czechoslovakia is 3,000 crowns (\$60), and a worker's income averages 3,500 crowns a month, the writer will have to work for at least one month in order to replace his coat.

Workers Urged to Suspect New Friends

A civil servant recently escaped from Czechoslovakia reported:

"Many former government officials and civil servants have been transferred to the Poldovka foundry in Kladno. . . . In a short time, relations of mutual friendship have developed between the old workers at the Poldovka and these new workers, who formerly held important government posts but who have for various reasons been demoted. The tie of friendship finds its expression, among other ways, in the manner in which the workers and former officials address each other with a respectful 'Mr. Colleague'. This development is not altogether agreeable to the local Communist functionaries. Through the factory public address system, the workers are being called upon to be on their guard against the transferred officials, in whose ranks, it is said, there is a considerable number of 'reactionaries'. The workers are expected to report to the factory council any political debates in which these reactionaries take part, so that the council and the workers' militia can take the necessary steps against them."

The Patched-Up Novel

A recent arrival from Budapest wrote:

"Gyorgy Roman's novel *Azziai Kaland* [Adventures in Asia] appeared in December in Budapest. A few years ago the novel was a 'typical decadent bourgeois' story describing in bright colors the life of the Far Eastern seaports, without any political overtones. Recently the author rewrote the novel according to the Party line. The original characters were not changed, but three additional characters have been inserted: a British Intelligence Service agent, a Polish Communist doctor and a Chinese Communist dock-worker. The latter two carry on a continual struggle against the Intelligence Service man. The additions made the novel acceptable to the Communists and the revised edition has been published."

INTRODUCTION

The Origin of the Document

The *Document on Terror* reproduced on the following pages came to the National Committee for a Free Europe from a former Baltic cabinet minister, favorably known to us. This man received the document in 1948 from a Ukrainian refugee in Germany. According to the Ukrainian, the document, printed in Polish, had been found on the body of a dead NKVD officer in Poland in 1948. It was smuggled into Germany where it was lent to the Ukrainian for 24 hours. During this period the Ukrainian made a shorthand copy of the document, later translated into German. The man who lent the document to the Ukrainian has disappeared. All subsequent efforts to find him have failed. The Baltic minister describes the Ukrainian (with whom he had spent several years in a Nazi concentration camp) as "wholly reliable."

The Question of Authenticity

No means of conclusively establishing the authenticity of the *Document on Terror* is known to us. The NKVD officer is dead, and no irrefutable link between him and the document can be proved. Certain facts, however, support the belief that the document is a genuine product of Communist theory. First, the trend of thought and method of presentation are typical samples of dialectic materialism. Second, the application of a pattern of terror methods similar to or identical with those described in the monograph did in fact occur in widely separated countries in Eastern Europe as well as in China. The theory has been put into practice by the Communists. Third, the integrity of the man who gave it to us is of the highest order.

Translation

The German translation given to the former Baltic minister is all that now remains. Unfortunately, it is incomplete, lacking a title page and ending so abruptly that it seems almost certain that several pages are missing. In addition, the German translation itself is poor, although it does have the advantage of being a literal translation, even to the extent of following the Polish syntax. The English translation has retained the style of the German except where this would promote misunderstanding. A few obvious inaccuracies have been corrected.

The Reason for Printing It

It is not without misgivings that this manuscript is being made available to our readers, since the question of authenticity is by no means resolved. It is our feeling, however, that the document is of such interest and potential importance that it warrants publication. We therefore proceed in the hope that the professional scholars and journalists whom this magazine reaches will themselves give it their thoughtful evaluation and draw their own conclusions.

Synopsis of the Contents

Two distinct categories of terror are analyzed in the document. **General terror**, based on overt acts of violence, is for use against the entire population and is aimed at achieving command over the will of the people. In the ideal terror campaign the people are led through five phases of terrorism: stimulated activity, deep insecurity, mounting fear, paralysis of will and, finally — with the aim of the terrorist reached — a period of consolidation. General terror is most effective if applied only once, for sustained application (called chronic terror) may produce immunity to fear, and mass fear may turn to mass hatred of and resistance to the perpetrators of terror. The "psychological" methods of general terror include publishing lists of executed persons, holding hostages, and public beatings. The "direct attack" methods are aimed at producing a "psychosis of white fear," crippling the terror object's will to resist.

Enlightened terror is a refinement of general terror, more subtle and more effective. It is based on five principles. First, the terrorist must camouflage his maneuvers so as to apply terror not in his own name, but in the name of the opponent. Second, the terrorist acts in a dual role: overtly before the eyes of the world in a constructive manner, while secretly he directs public suspicion against his opponent. Third, the terrorist converts his environment into a spontaneous assistant and accessory, in ignorance of its role. Fourth, the terrorist must use his knowledge of psychology, of the instinctive, original reactions of human beings, to manipulate them into desired situations. Finally, by infiltration of the opponent's ranks, the terrorist can cause infinite damage and conflict by the very fact of his opponent's confidence in him.

The weapon of enlightened terror is not limited to force, but includes any means of producing the planned psychological effect. The methods of enlightened terror, when applied within the terrorist's own "field of force," first comprise the establishment of a complete information network (through infiltration, front groups, etc.). Second, direct or preferably indirect action, performed by a camouflaged agent of the terrorist, with the aim of isolating and destroying the opponent. Third, the fullest possible exploitation of the action, through the adroit use of propaganda media. The methods of enlightened terror to be applied outside the terrorist's own field of force are aimed at the disintegration of the opponent's sphere of influence. (Here the document ends abruptly).

Reprints of the "Document on Terror" are available in limited quantities.

Document on Terror

PART I

General Terror

The Concept of General Terror

General terror, also called mass terror, is an act based on violence. With its aid, the subject of terror destroys the most active part of the object of terror. The subject enforces its will on that part of the object of terror which has not been destroyed. Violence, in regard to general terror, means any willful act of the subject directed against the object with hostile intentions. The only defense open to the object is self-help.

The Elements of General Terror

1. The subject

The subject is an organization of persons and of materials. This organization must be a physical and spiritual entity, aware of its aims. It must also have sufficient materials at its disposal.

The subject is generally in the minority, as compared with the object of terror. What percentage ratio must exist between subject and object in order to ensure victory to the subject, cannot be stated in advance, because the ratio depends on a number of uncertain factors. Nevertheless, this percentage ratio must be taken into account and plans must be laid accordingly.

2. The executors of terror

In addition to the subject, there is an organ partially or entirely charged with executing the terror acts by the subject. This organ is a separate unit only as far as the actual performance of its acts is concerned. In all other respects it is an inseparable part of the subject.

3. The object

The object of terror is the entire people, and within the people, every class, level, or group of the population. An individual group of opponents can never be called the object of general terror. The object is always the broad masses among whom the opponents live and act. From this point of view, we can speak of the blindness of the object

of general terror. The theoretical reason for this blindness is found in the principles of general terror, namely . . .

First, the entire population must be subjected to terror in order to establish the conditions for the destruction of one part of the population. Second, whoever is not in the ranks of the terrorists is either an actual or a potential opponent, or creates favorable conditions for the opponent by his passive attitude. The former two must be destroyed, the latter must be dominated: i.e., the entire population must be terrorized. Third, if it is probable that a certain group contains one single enemy who cannot be identified, the entire group must be wiped out to make sure that he is destroyed.

The Weapon of Terror

The weapon of general terror is violence. In order to achieve one's aim by means of violence, and to obtain the planned results, violence must be applied at the proper time, in the proper strength, and in the proper form. The proper time is that at which the wave of terror will be a surprise both to the object and to the outside world. The proper strength is that which will disrupt even the most resistant and the strongest group among the object of terror. The proper form is that which will have the most damaging psychological effect on the object. . .

The Phases of General Terror

A terrorist action which is well prepared and proceeding according to plan will have a normal course consisting of five phases of development, which can be described and classified in terms of the opponents' typical reactions.

1. The first phase is that of increased vitality of the object of terror. When he is struck by the first wave of terrorism, the psychological shock will cause him to go into frantic action. This is shown by the great interest in public meetings and by the overcrowding of places of entertainment. At the same time, morale is lowered.

2. The second phase puts the terror object into a shaky frame of mind. The object of terror feels instinctively that he is in the center of a storm whose extent and violence he does not know. This phase is marked by increased plotting activity, by attempts at organized defense, and by attempts

to negotiate with the terrorists. There is also flight to regions not affected by the terror.

3. The third phase is that of fear psychosis. The extent of terror has reached its maximum. The object is dominated by a feeling of increasing fear. This phase is marked by uncoordinated attempts at defense, and by the obvious slowing down of public and social life.

4. The fourth phase is the decisive one for the success of the terrorist action. It is characterized by the paralyzing of the object through fear. The object is no longer capable of offering any practical resistance. This period is the most favorable for forcing the terrorists' will and conditions upon the object.

5. At the beginning of the fifth phase we reach the period in which both parties make efforts to attain a certain equilibrium. The aim has been achieved—the terror decreases. This is the phase in which the terror subject strengthens the position he has won. At the same time, the mentality of the object becomes stabilized at a new level.

Chronic Terror

Looking at it from a sober point of view, the use of terror should be stopped after the fifth phase, if the main aims have been achieved. It should not be applied any longer, while the memories of the population are still fresh. However, the amazing results which can be achieved with terror become a permanent stimulus to the terror subject. He will tend to consider it the universal solution for all problems and difficulties. If he gives in to this temptation, general terror reaches a new and different phase, that of chronic terror. It is based on the steady, repeated application of terror, in the idea that it will lead to the fulfillment of the same aims as a single application of terrorist methods. This, however, is an error, and the terror subject may have to pay dearly for it. For general terror, in this new phase, undergoes a fundamental change, and while it brings certain benefits, it also has unfavorable consequences which react against the terror subject.

The Effects of Chronic Terror

1. Positive effects of chronic terror

Application of chronic terror has a positive effect. It makes it impossible for the object of terror with his own powers to oppose the subject of terror. If terrorism is conducted according to plan, the object will have only those psychological and physical powers left which are necessary for the performance of the functions which the terror subject has forced upon him. Any excess powers must be liquidated, because they represent a danger to the subject and are not indispensable to the life of the object. This is the positive principle of chronic terror, called the principle of the lowest level of powers.

2. Negative effects

We know from the definition of general terror that it serves to achieve two aims: the destruction of one certain portion of the terror object, and the imposition of the will

of the terror subject upon the part of the object which has not been destroyed. Obviously, the first task of terror is to absorb the most active part of the object, to destroy it, or at least to injure the central organs of the object effectively. But there remains the part of the object which has not been destroyed, and which, as a rule, is the largest part of the object. The will of the terror subject must be imposed upon it. This can be done by putting the object into a state of impotence, by paralyzing his will to resist. This paralysis is a psychological effect, caused by sudden fear, the fear being created by the use of concentrated force. But the terror object is a living organism with a tendency and a capacity to adapt himself to all conditions and to survive them if biological conditions permit. Chronic terror causes chronic fear, but this does not halt life as such. Thus, by the laws of nature, the terror object will become used to living in constant fear and will therefore become immune to it. Thus repeated terror can no longer achieve the effect of paralyzing the will to resist. It does create something else, however, namely hatred of the terror subject. This again has effects which are called the negative effects of chronic terror. From these, we can derive four further principles of chronic terror: the principles of internal intervention, of moral isolation, of unforeseen effects, and of deception.

a. Principle of internal intervention

The terror object cannot loosen the stranglehold of the terror subject, and for that precise reason he becomes filled with the will to resist, the feeling of hatred, and the wish for revenge. He creates a state of potential revolt, a readiness for every action which is directed against the terror subject, and also the willingness to consider every enemy of the terror subject his liberator. This attitude of the terror object creates a dangerous situation for the terror subject; for over a period of time it forms, in the field of force of the terror subject, a basis for the internal intervention of the current opponent of the terror subject. The internal intervention will be successful; that is, it will interrupt the condition of passive conduct in which the terror object exists, and will mobilize the terror object to the struggle with the terror subject. When a third factor, taking account of the positive principle of chronic terror, raises the force of the terror object to such a level, with the aid of its own means, then it is possible to start the struggle. So long as this condition remains unfulfilled, the status of passive conduct is not interrupted—and all hope of drawing the terror object to the level of a struggle with the terror subject is without foundation.

No exceptions to the above rule are known. . . .

This rule forms the first negative principle of chronic terror, and is called the principle of internal intervention. However, one must always consider that so-called wars of intervention, carried out around the periphery of the field of force of the terror subject, have nothing to do with internal intervention and should not be identified with it.

b. Principle of moral isolation

The tool of terror constitutes force in its original form. The continued application of terror in this form arouses hate and aversion, not only in the terror object, but also in the outside world, which finds itself in constant fear that sooner or later it must share the fate of the terror object. Masses of people exposed to terror but so far spared by it feel this readily and very radically. Behind them follow the objects which are not affected by the terror but which are already threatened by it. Finally come those who are not actually threatened, and who even sympathize with the terror subject, but who are, so to speak, "swallowed up" by the masses which are inimical to the terror subject. In this way there forms around the terror subject a void which becomes the more complete the longer the period of terror domination continues, the more ruthless the terror is, and the greater the number of victims is. The final result of the application of chronic terror is always a complete moral isolation of the terror subject.

c. Principle of unforeseen effects

The application of chronic terror isolates the terror subject morally. But along with the process of isolation another process develops in the outside world which is no smaller in extent and no less significant. The spectre of terror unites the enemies of the terror subject and forms automatically a certain enemy coalition, which grows constantly and constantly threatens to strangle the terror subject. Independent of this, and despite outward appearances, the number of opponents is not lessened even in the internal field of force of the terror subject. On the contrary, the number of opponents grows steadily, disproportionately to the strength of the terror and to the number of opponents destroyed by the terror. . . .

d. Principle of deception

The positive effects of the application of terror do not become evident and understandable until some time in the future. But it is certain that the bitter fruits of these effects are not experienced by the terror subject until after the period of the first triumph and successes.

This sly, crafty action of the negative effects of chronic terror often becomes the source of dangerous deception on the part of the terror subject. The terror subject deceives himself that the most difficult and most complicated problems can most easily be solved with the aid of force. Strengthened in this conviction, the terror subject does not look for any other solution, and finally ends up thinking only in terms of force. Under such circumstances, the problem of how one should deal with a thing is not important. A solution to the problem is always ready, although it is not always in harmony with logic and healthy understanding. For the terror subject, the main consideration is what sort of force is necessary to force upon the outside world the ideals, desires, and will of the terror subject. The effects of such a train of thought are always the same—poorly solved problems do not keep pace with life; they pile up, and

once set in motion they roll like an avalanche and crush everyone who tries to restrain their natural progress. This phenomenon is constant to the extent that every subject of chronic terror has a great inclination to solve current problems with the aid of force. The extent of this inclination is an indication of the degree to which the terror subject is under the influence of this deception. Because these phenomena are constant, they form the principle of chronic terror called the principle of deception. To be sure, this principle applies only to those changes which take place under certain conditions in the psyche of the terror subject, but its general significance is so great that it would be an error not to mention it.

The Methods of General Terror

In order to attain its goal, general terror has worked out or adapted certain methods of fighting. These methods may be divided into psychological methods and direct action methods.

1. Psychological methods

The psychological methods, coupled with intimidation, are aimed at forcing the terror object to behave in a manner most favorable for the terror subject. These methods have an indirect, preventive character, and are intended to produce a psychological effect. Direct attack on the opponent and his destruction are either completely ignored or are of only secondary importance. The following psychological methods are known and applied.

a. The method of intimidation through publishing of lists of persons sentenced to death, with the notation that the sentence will be executed if the terror object attempts resistance in certain fields.

This method is ineffective and must remain so, because it is a method of individual, not mass, terror. This method can be used with good results as a tool for individual terror. But in any case where the attempt to exert pressure cannot lead to the desired end, it fails. For example: I tell "N", a person who is in opposition to me, that "Z", who is in my hands, will be executed if "N" behaves in a manner disloyal to me. I can count on a positive result of the pressure if "Z" has close connections with "N". But I cannot count on such a result if "Z" is a person about whom "N" cares nothing, unless "N" is a person with very high moral principles and the causes of his opposition to me are quite a serious matter. This method is unfavorable for the terror subject if there is still a third person concerned who takes an interest in the struggle. In order to prevent any positive effects from being attained by this method, he will incite an act of terror and will thereby force the subject to carry out his threats. If the threats are realized, conditions will necessarily become more tense, and the number of opponents will necessarily increase.

b. The method of intimidation by publishing lists of persons against whom the death sentence has been carried out. This method has only one positive effect: it terrifies the uncertain element which does not possess

adequate ideological strength. In addition to the general negative effects, this method also gives rise to the following supplemental effects:

(1) This method terrifies the idealistic element in as small a way as the spectre of death terrifies a volunteer in a war.

(2) The application of this method causes a qualitative selection on the part of the opponent, because only the qualitatively strongest element, the one most dangerous to the terror subject, will then volunteer for the revolutionary organizations. Thus, whatever these organizations lose in quantity is made up for in quality.

(3) This method creates a nimbus of martyrdom around the opponents and their families, and makes heroes of them. Thus this method does not achieve its aim, because the terror subject is not using it with the intention of adding high-grade human material to the resources of the opposition organizations or of creating martyrs and heroes on a production-line basis.

c. The method of intimidation through the public execution of death sentences

This method has no positive effects. On the contrary, it increases the tension of all negative effects to a pathological degree. It amounts to planting a time bomb among one's own ranks. It can be recommended if one desires to increase the resistance of the terror object at any price, or wants to provoke the terror object to acts of active resistance.

d. The method of hostages

This method consists of taking a number of persons in an area prisoner and publicly announcing that all these persons will be executed if there are any acts of active resistance in this area. This is a method of individual terror, and it is a mistake to use it as a tool of mass terror. It is successful if one desires to force loyalty from those persons for whom the hostages have a considerable personal significance. It would be effective as a method of mass terror if:

(1) all inhabitants of the area were agreed that they would maintain peace in exchange for the lives of the hostages; and also if

(2) there were no faction outside this area which was interested in the struggle.

In case the threat is carried out, the negative effects become more concrete because the hostages are usually prominent people and as a rule are not guilty of any offense.

e. The method of joint responsibility

This consists of carrying out minor or major reprisals against a group of people from whose midst the executor of an act of force originated, either in fact or in supposition. Even if this method has positive effects, it does not achieve its aim, because it is directed against a group which has no influence in the matter. The negative effects of this method are identical with the effects of the hostage method.

f. The method of intimidation by bad treatment in public (striking in the face, kicking, beating with rifles, etc.)

This method is used in two cases: first, as prime punishment for infractions of regulations; and second, as initial punishment for serious offenses. This method is considered here not because of the fact that when it is once introduced it is always later misused, but because the reason for giving it attention goes much deeper. This method must be noted because, although it appears quite harmless, it actually has far-reaching effects.

2. The method of direct action

The methods of direct action are generally known and are of historical value only. However, the mechanics of the methods of direct action are always reliable from the standpoint of general terror and bring good quantitative results. The aim of these methods is: to render the active opponent harmless; to render suspected elements harmless; and to maintain the balance between the quantitative strength of the terror object and that of the terror subject, through systematic destruction of the human potential of the terror object. Finally, these methods aim to create a psychosis of "white fear", the purpose of which is to cripple the terror object's will to resist.

Neutralizing the Negative Effects of Terror

So far, this survey has been an analysis of general and chronic terror (the latter cannot be regarded as an independent type of terror, as, for example, destructive or individual terror). The purpose of this analysis is to explain the structure, the nature, and the spirit of this fighting tool, with its good and its bad properties. The analysis has shown that general terror, used once, can render excellent service. It makes it possible in one fine stroke to destroy the leading group of the terror object, to cripple his masses, and to impose the will of the terror subject. There is no doubt that even in this case the negative effects of the terror are also observable. But these effects do not become evident immediately and it is possible to suppress them and deprive them of the climate which favors their development before they mature. In view of this fact, one may risk making the statement that a single application of general terror is useful and without undesirable consequences.

The situation is different when it comes to chronic terror. To be sure, the terror object only vegetates, but the relentless laws of chronic terror are operating and are making the terror subject ripe for destruction, although the destruction can be caused—this must be specifically emphasized—only by a third external factor. Thus chronic terror is dangerous also because it promises a great deal and justifies the hopes only under conditions of isolation, when there is no danger of internal intervention. If, however, this danger exists, the application of the terror is unfavorable. But the danger of internal intervention should not be overestimated, because history shows that successful internal intervention is an exceptional case. Generally it

fails because of basic errors which are in the very fundamentals of the planned action. Still more often it never actually takes place, because the leading group of the potential interventionist is incapable of the action. But in every case the application of chronic terror involves a great number of dangers. In order to minimize these dangers, other means may be used.

In the internal field, the best defense is terror itself—well organized, naturally. . . . In the external field, the best protection consists of taking proper steps to isolate the terror object and the territory which is dominated by the terror from the rest of the world. Such measures are the more successful the more complete the isolation. But one must emphasize in advance that in the times in which we live such tactics are successful only to a degree, because the development of the means of transportation makes absolute isolation impossible.

In the last analysis, those measures can be recommended which serve to strengthen the internal and external conflicts which already exist in the camp of the potential opponent. Potential opponents who are occupied with their own troubles are naturally not in a position to direct additional attention toward even an important development if it is of minor interest to them, because it does not involve their interests directly.

But all these methods are only apparent. They reduce the force of the undesirable developments, but basically they do not offer protection to the terror subject. When unfavorable conditions coexist (and one cannot deny that unfavorable conditions often have a tendency to exist simultaneously), nothing is of any avail, and in spite of all efforts the terror subject will suddenly find himself faced with a coalition of internal intervention.

PART II

Enlightened Terror

The Concept of Enlightened Terror

The fact that a weapon has a deficiency does not mean that it is of no value as a fighting tool. In order to avoid the dangers which are connected with its utilization, it is sometimes sufficient simply to know what the shortcomings of the weapon are and to see under what conditions one can apply it not only without damage but even to advantage. Thus there is no doubt that under certain circumstances general terror (regardless of its shortcomings) can be used repeatedly as well as a single time. But the consciousness that a deficiency exists is disturbing. For this reason an effort is made to improve the structure of general terror. The result of this attempt is the concept of enlightened terror.

The Basic Principles of Enlightened Terror

1. Camouflage maneuvers

The application of terror is dangerous for the terror subject because the terror subject acts against the terror

object, and before the world at large, in its own name. For this reason the negative effects of the terror are directed against the terror subject itself. In order to avoid this danger, in the concept of enlightened terror, the terror subject remains concealed. But naturally, concealment of the fact that the terror subject exists does not alone solve the problem. Even when the best means of concealment are used, the question of who is applying the terror can not long remain unanswered. For this reason, in the concept of enlightened terror the terror subject not only remains in the shadows, but acts and applies terror not in his own name but in the name of his opponent. This principle is called the "camouflage maneuver."

Now one must observe whether and on what bases measures will have an effect, that is, to what degree the terror subject can count on being able to deceive the opponent, his natural environment, and the rest of the world.

From outward appearances one might assume that both measures are naive and predestined to failure. Actually the reverse is true. The possibilities of deceiving all three factions are very great, provided that the terror subject fulfills only one condition, the condition of probability. This means that the plans for the action must contain certain elements which indicate that the execution of the action by the opponent is a probability. . . .

Two examples illustrate the truth of these "camouflage maneuvers."

From 1942 on a mighty struggle raged between the Poles and the Ukrainians in the Polish-Ukrainian border regions. Its reverberations have not died out to this day. This fight was started and conducted according to the rules of enlightened terror, on the initiative of the competent Bolshevik organs. These Bolshevik elements decided to strike the three opponents, the Germans, the Poles, and the Ukrainians, in a single action and with a single stroke. This is indicated by the aim of the action, which was as follows:

- a. to bring the German hinterland to a status of "Balkanization,"
- b. to disclose the elements with nationalist leanings on both the Polish and the Ukrainian sides,
- c. to prevent any attempt at Polish-Ukrainian cooperation,
- d. to weaken Poland's position in the international field (in case the Polish government should demand the restitution of the eastern border as of 1939).

The means with which this action was carried out may be regarded as classic. Two fighting groups were formed, Polish and Ukrainian. Both groups were numerically weak and consisted of only a few people, who, however, were distinguished by special abilities. The two groups started the action simultaneously, but independently, in the sectors assigned to them (in Wolhynia). The Polish group attacked the Ukrainians, the Ukrainians, the Poles. The actions were particularly ruthless, and at first glance appeared to be completely senseless, because the objects of the action

on both sides were persons who enjoyed the authority of the two groups of peoples. The actions were carried out ruthlessly and at short intervals, always in the name of the loudly proclaimed national interests, either Polish or Ukrainian.

Both Poles and Ukrainians are distinguished by the relative speed with which they can be aroused. For this reason the mass reaction occurred very quickly. In a short time the true avengers and defenders of the national interests appeared on both sides, and they continued the actions tirelessly and enthusiastically, along the lines determined in the beginning by the two operational groups.

Then the two groups were suddenly diverted to other fields, and finally completely withdrawn, because it had quickly become evident that they were no longer needed. The machine of enlightened terror was already operating automatically.

A few months passed and it became clear that the goal of the action had been attained. But the characteristic thing—and from the standpoint of enlightened terror, the important thing—is that the actual subject of the terror remained concealed and must remain concealed in the future, even from the eyes of the historians. All those affected by the action believe that it was of the nature of a spontaneous movement, and differences of opinion exist only concerning who was to blame. For the Poles blame the Ukrainians and the Ukrainians the Poles. But both sides, and also the outside world, are mistaken.

The burning of the Reichstag is the second example. The National-Socialists planned and executed the burning of the Reichstag. The act was attributed to the German Communist Party, in order to indicate and to justify the persecution of the members of this Party. The burning of the Reichstag may be regarded as a typical example of enlightened terror, mainly because of the use of the camouflage maneuver. As is well known, the effects of this maneuver have never fulfilled the hopes of those who perpetrated it, because only a very small section of world public opinion was deceived by the suggestion. This fact must be interpreted to mean that the National-Socialists did not pay adequate attention to the condition of probability when they made up their plan of action. For although the German Communists could indeed have had a certain amount of interest in the destruction of the National-Socialist elite, they could certainly have had no interest in burning the building where that elite held its meetings.

2. Dualism of the subject

The logical extension of the principle of the "camouflage maneuvers" forms the basis of the dualism of the subject of enlightened terror. Dualism consists of the fact that the subject of enlightened terror shows himself in one form before the outside world when he appears in public, and in a different form when the conditions of the struggle necessitate it.

The first form represents openly the creative power of the terror subject; the second, his destructive power. For

this reason the latter is supposed to appear outwardly, before the world at large, as the personification of the opponent. In this connection the scope and the sphere of activity of the two forms should be very carefully limited. The limits of these assignments can be described as follows:

a. The scope of action of the public organs of the subject of enlightened terror includes all actions which have to do with the execution of government (power) in its classic form. On the other hand, no action which is in any way connected with the execution of the terror should be included.

b. The sphere of action of the concealed organs of the terror subject includes all activities which are based on terror.

In conjunction with the basic principle of dualism the problem arises as to whether the responsibility of the opponent for the actions of the concealed organs of the subject of the enlightened terror must be based on proof, or whether it can be based on suspicion only. . . .

To make a person suspicious is an assignment which is easier than one might think. The wheels of terror never operate blindly. There is always a terror object, the opponent. And the opponent can act, although, of course, he is not supposed to. But if the opponent is capable of action, the terror subject can assert that he actually did act. Then it becomes very easy to establish the statement that a certain act was done by the opponent. This sort of suspicion can always be created.

3. Psychological effect

The activities of general terror, independent of surprise effects, are also designed for the psychological effect. But in spite of this, nothing in the system of general terror is usually given less thorough consideration than the human being and his psyche.

In principle, knowledge of human beings and of the laws which govern human beings is superfluous in the system of general terror, and may perhaps be harmful for the executor of the terror. This develops from the nature of general terror, from its structure, and from the mechanics of its activities, which are more than simple. It is sufficient simply to set the mechanism in motion and to shove a portion of the terror object into its jaws to destroy a certain number of the opponents, a number which in certain cases can be recorded statistically, in percentage terms, and calculated.

The system of enlightened terror is based on quite different principles. The terror subject and the opponent both live and operate in natural environments, in a group of people. These environments sometimes assume a friendly attitude toward the terror subject; more often they are neutral; and very often they are inimical. Thus in the system of enlightened terror nearly all the efforts of the terror subject are directed at converting the environment into a spontaneous assistant and accessory, in ignorance of its role. For this, a knowledge of human psychology and mass psychology is necessary for action.

There is a good example of such action. Many sections in the Lublin district through which important German communication lines ran were especially suited for the execution of diversion actions because of their very favorable topographic conditions. It was almost impossible for the irregular Bolshevik units to penetrate them, because the indigenous population, who had not been too much disturbed by the German authorities, had taken a very neutral attitude, and had in general become inimical toward the Bolsheviks and would not give them the necessary support. In this situation, the Bolshevik commander ordered a small fighting group formed, and at its head he executed a few actions which were quite drastic in their planning and execution. In a short time many Germans had fallen victim to these actions. The local commander of the German security service reacted quickly and ruthlessly: in many villages he ordered several persons shot without any investigation whatever; many others were sent to concentration camps, and farm buildings were burned. But at the same time the reaction of the masses of the people was exactly as the Bolshevik commander had calculated. In a previously peaceful area there developed a ferment. The formerly peaceful people rose up and swelled the numerically weak fighting group into a large fighting unit. As a result, the Red commanders who led the action found obedience, loyalty, and support primarily among the ranks of those who suffered from the increasingly frequent, but increasingly stupid, stereotyped punitive actions carried out by the German commands. Thus, the Bolshevik commander based his action upon an excellent knowledge of the psychology of individual persons (in this case, the mentality of the German commander in question) and also of mass psychology. He recognized the basic law of psychology, that under certain definite conditions a certain definite incitation must give rise to a certain definite reaction—and he acted in accordance with this law. . . .

4. Original reaction

The system of enlightened terror is also based on the basic principle of original reaction, that is, on such a reaction as is psychologically typical of a certain person. . . . It is not a product of the conscious thought process. It develops spontaneously, almost automatically, and appears in each person in a psychologically typical form. Unexpected or undeserved censure as a rule develops in the individual a feeling of anger and then a desire for revenge. If the person gives in to the feeling of anger or revenge, he acts according to his typical original psychological reaction. If he dominates his feelings, he acts consciously, and his action appears as a conscious act of will. On the basis of experience, it has been determined that such conscious action is a very rare phenomenon. The average person, as a rule, or a mass of people, will always and without exception act in accordance with original reaction. This is a permanent, immutable phenomenon, which operates with the same intensity in any circumstances, and therefore in the system of enlightened terror it forms one of the main basic principles.

The following example illustrates the meaning of this basic principle.

During the first few months of the German-Bolshevik war, evidences of demoralization appeared among the ranks of the Red Army. This resulted in mass desertions which reached threatening proportions. One of the causes was the fact that the German command in the beginning had treated Soviet Army prisoners in general in a humane fashion. Observing this situation, the appropriate Soviet circles took draconian measures. They ordered that all Germans captured on the front or in the German hinterland, whether they fell into the hands of regular troops or of guerrilla units, were to be ruthlessly and terribly mistreated.

These measures were applied systematically and over a fairly long period of time, until the order was rescinded. They produced an immediate counter-reaction on the part of the Germans. The Germans instituted reprisals, and began to shoot captured Soviet Army personnel, and additional prisoners were destroyed in the prisoner-of-war camps through hunger and infectious diseases. This action on the part of the Germans had the desired and expected reaction in the Soviet Army. Desertions ceased, and morale and fighting spirit improved notably. . . .

5. Infiltration

The basic principle of infiltration forms an organic entity with the above-mentioned basic principles. The concept of this principle is known, but it is almost always not properly understood. The idea is to fill the ranks of the opponents with qualitatively highly efficient personnel of one's own. But those who believe that the main objective of this action is vigilance, with a source of constant and reliable information, are deceived. There is no doubt that this should also be given consideration, but it is only in the background of the plan and is certainly of only secondary importance. The primary mission of the persons who have penetrated is to become assimilated by the opponent, even to the point where there is no longer any doubt about the person's belonging to the enemy camp. His rightful duty, regardless of his position, is to create a focus of chronic internal and external conflict within the enemy camp. He operates dogmatically and with ruthless fanaticism, in the name of the well-being of the opponent, supporting himself on the opponent's ideological principles.

The Communist Party in Germany utilized this basic principle on a historic scale after Hitler came to power. After being declared illegal, the Communist Party ceased to operate legally. In fact, it gave up almost entirely illegal activities. It kept up a few of the latter only for appearances, almost solely "as a matter of form". This was done in order to lull the vigilance of the National-Socialists to sleep, to convince them completely that the danger of Communism in Germany had disappeared once and for all. Instead, all attention and all efforts were devoted to the "Trojan horse". One may well say that nothing in Germany remained unaffected by this unobserved flood of Red infiltrators, who shouted the fanatic concepts

of Hitler and wore the uniforms of the National-Socialists. Neither the National-Socialist Party and its organizations, nor the government apparatus, nor the army, nor even the immediate circles surrounding Hitler, Himmler, Goebbels, or any leading person in the so-called Third Reich, remained free of infiltration. The elite of the Communist Party sacrificed all its forces, not to break through the wall of defense around Hitlerism, but to undermine it.

Structural Elements of Enlightened Terror

1. The terror subject

The terror subject as known in the concepts of general terror also exists in the structure of enlightened terror. But the differences between the subject of general terror and the subject of enlightened terror are of an organic character.

In the structure of general terror, the terror subject forms a palpable open organization. The number of members may be small, but a certain ratio relative to the quantitative potential of the terror object must be maintained. In order to overcome the difficulties of terror, the members of this organization must be kept under iron discipline, and the leaders must always be concerned with instructing their men, with maintaining their fighting power and their unshakeable spirit. This is the weak aspect of general terror and shows its shortcomings. To be sure, a strong organization develops, but the world sees it. The members are revealed to the world. And the worst of it is that the entire world is mobilized against the subject. The world, depending upon the magnitude of the stated intentions, which are quite strange to it, feels itself threatened, and with justification. As a result, the road to the goal does not become smoother. Everything puts obstacles in the road, and forces the use of the most severe and the most radical fighting methods.

In the structure of enlightened terror the situation is quite different.

Upon closer examination, it is seen that the art of applying enlightened terror is the clever fabrication of outward appearances, and this knowledge forms the actual weapon of enlightened terror. Because of the nature of this weapon, the best conditions for its use are created by a group which remains concealed, and which is so small that it does not have to make known its plans and explain them openly. A larger number of visible organs is not a help, but a ballast and a hindrance. For this reason a special, separate group, which does not even exist so far as the outside world is concerned, becomes the subject of enlightened terror, creating the power and the assistance for the realization of its plans from the reserves of the already existing organization of the community within which it operates. In such a situation it is not necessary to maintain an open organization, and furthermore there exists a possibility of camouflaging the actual plans with those ideas which at this time are particularly desired by mankind. Both these developments are extraordinarily favorable for the terror subject, because world opinion then is

not in a constant state of alert, or readiness for combat. And this excellently helps to attain the planned goal.

2. The executors

In the structure of general terror the executors are the elite. In the structure of enlightened terror, the situation is different.

The executors are a separate entity isolated from the terror subject. Their only connection with the terror subject is their will and the logic of the mission offered or forced upon them. Other than this, there is no visible connection between the terror subject and the executors. This isolation must be maintained. The necessity of maintaining this isolation develops from the nature of enlightened terror, which consists of throwing the responsibility for every act of force executed onto the opponent. Thus the executors must represent to the outside world the object, not the subject, of enlightened terror.

The executors fall into four groups of people, depending upon how they were recruited.

The first group includes persons devoted to the cause. The terror subject accords them special confidence. They form the nucleus and the skeleton, that is, the leading group, of the executors.

The second group includes co-workers who act knowing the true state of affairs only within the limited boundaries of the missions assigned to them. But their idealistic value, their devotion, and experience have not been proved beyond doubt. Persons near to them guarantee their work, and have the same value as hostages so far as the terror subject is concerned.

The third group includes co-workers who act in the erroneous conviction that they are working for the terror object or for some other, unknown faction. Their recruitment and their work are based on the principle: deceive, and utilize the deception.

The fourth group includes chance co-workers whose assistance has been bought under some pretense or has been obtained under false pretenses.

3. The terror object

The terror object naturally also has its place in the structure of enlightened terror. But it differs basically from the object of general terror. The object of general terror is always the mass of the active opponent, a more or less passive group, and includes even the mass of the non-active sympathizers with the terror subject. Basically, therefore, the object of general terror consists of all who are not within the ranks of the terror subject. However, the object of enlightened terror consists exclusively of the active opponents, regardless of whether they have been singled out as individuals, or whether they are still unknown. . . . A difference exists only in the method which one must use to destroy them. In the first case, when one has determined who the opponent is, he is destroyed by direct means. In the second case, when the opponent is unknown, he must be separated from the environment in which he lives. To this end, one uses direct action.

4. Resonant mass and instigation object

In the concept of enlightened terror two new factors evolve which are not known in the structure of general terror. These are the resonant mass and the instigation object. Both these factors in general have an exceptional significance. Their significance increases especially when it is impossible to destroy the terror object through direct action. If the factors are to fulfill their assignments successfully, one must separate them from the mass of the subject or the object of the action. . . .

a. Resonant mass

The resonant mass is the natural environment of the terror object, that is, the mass of people within which the terror object lives and acts. The resonant mass may yield more or less to outside influences, or it may offer resistance to the process of being molded, but regardless of that it always forms a plastic mass which the terror subject can adapt to its own plans, naturally under the condition that the appropriate means are employed. It is of no significance whether the terror object acts openly or remains concealed. If the terror object develops any action whatever, it must connect itself with its natural environment, that is, with the resonant mass, in order to fulfill its mission. Therefore, since the active opponent must support this connection, the terror subject can turn over to the resonant mass the mission of destroying him. In order to achieve this, it is not necessary to dominate the resonant mass physically; nor is it necessary to dominate its "soul". It is sufficient if the terror subject is able, by means of appropriate measures, to cause the resonant mass to assume an attitude inimical to the terror object. If this is successful, then the opponent is no longer a component part of the resonant mass. He will be rejected by it as a foreign body.

b. The instigation object

As is well known, the system of enlightened terror is based, among other things, on the principle that a single, precisely determined incitation under definite conditions must give rise to a predetermined reaction. For example, if I step on someone's corn, it will certainly cause him pain. He may cry out; he will almost certainly become angry. If I should purposely repeat such an act, each of these reactions which have been described and anticipated, will certainly appear, and their intensity will increase. If I carry out the act cleverly and direct suspicion at someone else, my victim will turn around and vent his anger not on me but on this third person. In this example I am the terror subject and the executor, the inciter of pain to the corn, which is the instigation object. The man with the corn is the resonator, and the third man is the terror object, because the reaction, that is, the anger of the resonant mass, is directed toward him.

In this text-book example the true role played by the instigation object in the structure of enlightened terror is described clearly and graphically. The instigation object can be any material object (that is, any animate or inanimate object) or any spiritual object, provided it has a close

connection with the resonator. It would be impossible to survey the total number of different instigation objects. The choice of one type or another depends upon conditions and circumstances in the particular case. No less important considerations are the terror subject's degree of culture, intelligence, knowledge of psychology, and powers of observation.

5. The tool of enlightened terror

The only tool which general terror knows and uses is force.

In the system of enlightened terror, force is still an important tool, but only when it is necessary to destroy the active and individually indicated opponent, or when it is necessary to produce a definitely planned and precisely defined psychological effect.

Thus the limits within which enlightened terror may permit the use of force are not only very rigorously defined but also very restricted. They are incomparably more limited than in the case of general terror, and much more limited in comparison with the ways which force can be used during armed conflict, because one does not need to kill people in order to achieve a psychological effect. The same effect is achieved by other means. Therefore the tool used by enlightened terror is any means which is able to produce the planned psychological effect.

Methods of Enlightened Terror

In the system of enlightened terror every action forms a complete whole composed of the investigation activity, the executor activity, and the amplifying activity.

Each action is based on a different method of fighting. In the system of enlightened terror a division between offensive and defensive fighting methods is unknown. All methods are equally aggressive, and all are aimed directly or indirectly at the destruction of the opponent. Therefore, from the standpoint of the subject of enlightened terror, the fighting methods are divided into methods of internal and external conflict. The methods of internal fighting have as their aim the destruction of an enemy who has penetrated into the field of force of the enlightened terror. The methods of external fighting attempt to destroy the enemy in his own or in an outside field of force.

The Methods of Internal Conflict

The aim of the activity of investigation is the identification of the opponent, the determination of his point of support, the processing of the plan of action for his destruction, and the distribution of the personnel and the material means for the execution of the action. The positive results of the investigation activities depend primarily upon the industry and the quality of the information service. In the system of enlightened terror the information service is based on the following principles.

1. The principle of infiltration

On the basis of the infiltration principle, the system of enlightened terror can build up various organizations

which operate under other auspices, sometimes even under enemy auspices. In this way the terror subject builds the information organizations in his field of operations, their nature and membership corresponding as well as possible to the local conditions. The terror subject recommends to a potential candidate that he work with whatever organization best suits him in spirit. In this respect the system of enlightened terror can satisfy even very capricious or special inclinations. In this way information from various observation points and from various sectors should be able to give a full and graphic picture of the corresponding field of operation.

2. The principle of free choice

The principle of free choice is based on the fact, which is confirmed by experience, that the best information is brought by someone who does it voluntarily, because of his feeling of belonging to this or that group, which is determined by the feeling of solidarity. The feeling of this duty stems from a consciousness of belonging to a racial, national, class, professional, religious, or ideological group, which often includes a very broad field. The information network which operates according to the principles of free choice works very skillfully in strange, irregular terrain. Especially to be noted is the complete helplessness of the object whose name the terror subject uses for his own purposes.

3. The principle of personal danger (threat)

Because in many cases the principle of free choice cannot be applied, and in many other cases it is inadequate, the information service of enlightened terror often is supported by the principle of personal danger (personal threat). The beneficial properties of personal danger derive from the fact, well-known to every lawyer, that the defense counsel learns more from the defendant in the period of a few minutes than the police and the court learn during a long investigation. This phenomenon may be easily explained by the psychological status of the defendant. Rightly or not, the defendant feels that his most cherished possessions are threatened, and in the person of the defense counsel he sees his only trustworthy adviser.

In the system of enlightened terror use is made of this phenomenon to draw certain persons into the network of the information service, particularly when one can use these persons for procuring information only without their knowledge. The process consists of putting the person into a position of personal danger which is best suited to the existing circumstances. The conditions must at the same time mean that the only trustworthy defender of the person threatened is the terror subject. The above mentioned principle renders good service, particularly in one's own sphere of operation when setting the scene for the threatening situation.

4. The principle of retaliation

The necessary amplification of the two above-mentioned principles is the principle of retaliation. This is based on the phenomenon that every official who is connected

with some shady business is particularly ready to aid the police to catch criminals. In the system of enlightened terror this phenomenon is utilized with the aim of drawing certain persons who actually, or even only apparently, are employed by the opponent of the terror subject into the information network as conscious or unconscious assistants. Naturally, in certain cases the terror subject is forced to create the crime himself.

If the conflict takes place within the scope of one's own forces, the introductory activity can determine the following situations: first, that the conditions exist for direct action by the open public organs of the terror subject; second that conditions exist for direct action by the executors; and third, that conditions exist for indirect action by the executors.

1. Direct action by the open organs of the terror subject

The conditions for direct action by the open organs of the terror subject exist in a case where either the opponent has been unmasked and identified and failure appears to be impossible, or where the opponent's support point has been discovered . . . and the extent of the action demands unequivocally the terror subject's open appearance on the scene.

Enlightened terror permits direct action by the open organs of the terror subject only in these two cases. There are very important motives underlying this limitation.

The structure of general terror not only permits, but even forces, mass arrests and raids. Statistical reports on such actions are always impressive. But the actual results are minimal, because the actual opponent generally falls into the trap of such an action only by chance. The natural environment of the terror subject knows about this. It also knows that the action involves and destroys persons who are blameless. Thus in time the natural environment becomes convinced that the terror subject is acting blindly and is wandering astray in the dark. And such a state of affairs causes the prestige of the terror subject to diminish gradually in his natural environment. In the end, the natural environment fears the terror subject in the same way that one must fear a madman. The environment avoids the terror subject, but at the same time loses all respect for it.

In the structure of enlightened terror such a development is not permissible. The open organs of the terror subject must enjoy full respect. Immunity to all blows, and manifest knowledge of how to find a way out of any situation, create this respect. For this reason, in the structure of enlightened terror the open organs of the terror subject appear only seldom, and then with an assurance that commands authority.

2. Direct action by the executors

The conditions for direct action by the executors exist in cases where the administrative authorities are competent to destroy the opponent, where there is doubt concerning the culpability of the opponent, and where important mo-

tives (for example, of a political nature) militate against open action.

In all the cases mentioned above the executors carry out the action, destroy the opponent, and create "appearances" which seem to implicate the opponent. One must specifically underline the term "appearances", which is not identical with proof. Because in this case it is simply a matter of creating the impression, enlightened terror leaves to its opponent the problem of destroying the impression and the unsuccessful efforts to prove its improbability.

In this way general terror again goes into action, but in the service of enlightened terror. Therefore the effect of its action is greatly increased. It acts like a pair of scissors, the one blade of which is formed by direct action, the other by the secondary effects of the terror. The destructive effect of this pair of shears is more rapid and radical when the opponent is more dangerous in numbers. The opponent is more vulnerable not only as the result of the direct action, but also because of the forces of the energy which is released during the process of his destruction.

Here one should also mention the secondary effects of enlightened terror. These effects, unlike the secondary effects of general terror, are positive. Only the executors appear as the personification of evil. The executors act in the name of the opponent. As a result, the open representatives of enlightened terror, are regarded as the personification of good.

3. Indirect action by the executors

The conditions for indirect action by the executors exist when the information service has not fulfilled its mission, when it has not been able to identify the opponent, and when it has been determined in what vicinity the opponent is to be found.

Indirect action is based on the fact that the opponent will be forced to attempt to establish contact with the environment, in order to build up his strong points, without which an action planned for an extended period of time would be impossible. There is only a single way left open to combat the internal danger successfully. This way is to make the environment immune to the influence of the opponent, to make it adopt an attitude inimical to the opponent, and finally to force it into conflict with the opponent. Such a situation can be attained only if one infects the environment with the bacilli of fear, aversion, and hate of the opponent.

Actually all previous attempts to combat internal danger have been on the trail of this truth. But for some reason, even starting with the proper premises, false conclusions are attained. This false reasoning follows:

The opponent finds support and aid in a certain environment. Primarily responsible for this is the environment itself, for the reason that it permits itself to be persuaded by the opponent. It is necessary to wean the environment away from this influence. The more severely, the more ruthlessly, and the more horribly all cooperation with the opponent is punished, the more successful the action will

be. Thus, the environment must be frightened into desisting from any cooperation with the opponent.

It may appear that such a line of reasoning is quite correct, and that from the standpoint of logic it is irreproachable. However, the incorrectness of the reasoning is proved by the effects which it gives rise to. Such action is always severe, often ruthless, often horrible, and its tool is always the whip, the fire, the sword. The environment, which is the mass of people, is incapable of a complicated study of the situation. Therefore, this environment does not look for the causes of this treatment, but it feels and sees their effects. It does not hold responsible the persons who were the cause of the use of the whip, but the persons who actually use the whip. Therefore the environment turns against the latter persons. It learns to despise them, to feel revulsion and hatred toward them. The more severe the lashes of the whip, the more they are hated. When these reactions of the environment become visible even to the sympathizers of the whipping method, they are astonished and disappointed. Indeed, they have good reason to be. The environment has not been cowed into abandoning the opponent; on the contrary, it regards him as its defender, and it feels an elemental hatred toward the terror subject.

In the system of enlightened terror, things are done differently. The whip is given to the executors, and with their assistance, the environment is infected with the conviction that the only cause of the evil, and especially of the lashes which it is receiving, is the opponent. The only source of good appears to be the subject of the enlightened terror.

Within the framework of indirect action, this mission is carried out by six methods, each of which aims at a different effect.

The first method aims at creating and implanting in the opponent's natural environment the conviction that simply the appearance of the opponent signifies a still unknown but approaching misfortune.

The second method aims at creating and implanting the conviction that any personal contact with the opponent involves personal danger.

The third method aims at creating and implanting the conviction that constant contact with the opponent will lead to the destruction of most of one's personal possessions, or even to loss of life, money and family fortunes.

The fourth method aims at creating and implanting the conviction that under certain circumstances contact with the opponent, although it is not the source of direct danger, brings about misfortune which affects relatives, friends, and acquaintances and others in the immediate environment of the person who maintains the contact.

The fifth method aims at creating and implanting the conviction that although contact with the opponent often brings personal benefit, it must always and without exception lead to a conflict in some respect.

The sixth method aims at creating and implanting the conviction that the only protection against the misfortunes which the opponent causes is offered by the terror subject,

who spreads his protective wings over the harassed terror object.

The terror subject must always remain hidden and camouflaged. . . . His indirect action must not be improvised but always carried out according to a plan, systematically and with ruthless consistency. . . . This indirect action is always carried out by the executors, never by the open organs of the terror subject, not even by members of these organs. Naturally, the executors will carry out their assignments better if they resemble the opponent in external appearance.

If the terror is to fulfill its mission, it must have a strong psychological effect. It is already known from the analysis of general terror that any terrorist action is successful only if it is carried out at the proper time, in the proper strength, and in the proper form. The leadership of the terror subject is responsible for determining the time for the action. The executors are primarily responsible for the strength of the action and particularly for its form. If the strength of the action and its form are disproportionate, the effects of the action will be negligible.

Whether the resonant mass will fulfill its mission depends exclusively upon the terror subjects, the executors, and their ability and thoroughness. The resonant mass will respond if it is shaped by the will of the subject and by the act of the executors. The mass of people is only one element. It is an element just like air, water, or fire. The elements will serve anyone who knows how to control them. . . .

As a result of the indirect action a process involving the opponent takes place. It consists of two phases. The first phase is the period of isolation and atrophy, and results in the destruction of the minimum requirements for existence. It is reinforced by the destruction of the basis of support in the natural environment of the opponent. The second phase is the period which is characterized by the exclusion of the opponent from the environment of the resonant mass.

Providing certain conditions are kept constant, this process is invariable, and the opponent is not able to slow it down or interfere with it. Even the cleverest efforts of the opponent will be unsuccessful.

The opponent can concentrate all his efforts on propaganda action in order to try to explain his role and his aims to the resonant mass, and especially to explain that he is only the victim of a provocation. These efforts will remain unsuccessful. For even if the conviction of the truth of the opponent's statements should win out in the resonant mass, no one will be in a position to distinguish between the opponent and the camouflaged terror subject. For this reason the resonant mass, led by the instinct of self-preservation, will have the greatest distrust of everyone who appears under the opponent's flag.

The opponent may concentrate all his efforts against the terror subject. The losses of the terror subject may be great and painful. But as a result the action of the subject of enlightened terror acquires outstanding characteristics which attract attention to the fact that the action is being

conducted to the advantage of the opponent, that is, of the terror object.

Aroused by the unfriendly attitude of the resonant mass, the opponent may also strike at it. In this way he will only intensify the effects of the action and speed his own downfall. The opponent can avoid his own destruction only if he withdraws quickly or if he relinquishes the entire activity, carefully camouflaging his tracks.

Only those methods have been mentioned which are typical and comparatively easy to use. During peace time they should be used only with great caution. In time of war, in time of internal unrest, or in periods of transition, especially in foreign terrain, they can be used with great effect.

As has already been frequently emphasized, the aim of any action in the system of enlightened terror is to evoke a psychological process and implant and amplify its effects in the consciousness of the resonant mass.

This goal can be attained if one repeats the same action constantly and systematically. But naturally such a method—the repetition of the action—is uneconomical. It involves many sacrifices, and a great deal of time, force, and energy.

The same goal can be attained if one is able to cause the resonant mass to experience the same action repeatedly through clever propaganda. The name of this method is "the stage method". It consists of executing a typical, planned action in classic form. Subsequently this action is brought home to the resonant mass through printed statements, the radio, the motion picture, the press—in short, through all the means of propaganda available. Naturally such propaganda cannot be dry and factual reports. That type of propaganda would never attain its goal, because factual propaganda does not give the resonant mass any reason to become involved in the action. Thus the propaganda of enlightened terror cannot be of a statistical nature. Its propaganda must be lively, colorful, dramatic—that is, dynamic. But it is not important that it follow the truth in details. The system of enlightened terror leaves it up to the opponent to take the trouble and effort to collect the proofs that the propaganda does not correspond to facts. This effort will be unsuccessful, anyway, because in the meantime the propaganda will already have attained its aim. Furthermore, the collection of material for proof is always tiresome, and there is seldom anyone who is ready to give it any attention.

Repetition should be used widely in foreign terrain during the external conflict. On the other hand, in internal conflicts the "stage method" can be used with success. But one must note that this method has centrifugal tendencies. Its intensity diminishes the farther one gets from the large cultural centers. Therefore even in internal conflicts one must use the method of repetition, and its intensity will be greater the farther we get from the center of a given operational field. The strength of an action which is based upon the repetition method will be greatest around the periphery.

Thus the aim of the amplifying activity is the utilization of the effects of the executor action for propaganda purposes. In order to attain a further aim of the amplifying activity, the public organs of the object of enlightened terror must expand the network of the information service through the practical and proper utilization of the basic principle of personal danger (threat) and the basic principle of retaliation. . . .

Furthermore, if the terror subject strikes a blow against an object which is a part of the resonant mass, the government fighting against the terror subject cannot be indifferent. Such conduct is disadvantageous because then the resonant mass becomes convinced that there is no connection between its good and the good of the terror subject. The resonant mass feels then that the terror object must have sufficient power to guarantee assistance. Thus in the system of enlightened terror one should sooner make an attack on an object of one's own than on an object of the resonant mass. As long as the conflict continues, losses of one's own are unavoidable. It makes no difference on which front they fall, the external or the internal, although every loss on the internal front appears abnormal and therefore is almost always overvalued. Thus the preparation of the resonant mass for participation in the action directed at the destruction of the opponent is the most important function of the open organs of enlightened terror.

On the basis of the principles of general terror, the secondary effects of terror will strike back at the terror subject. In the system of enlightened terror these effects are directed against the terror object. As a result, the terror object undergoes the stage of atrophy which develops automatically by itself. Therefore the main task of the open organs of the terror subject is the creation of the conditions which will then precipitate the terror object into the next phase. From the general principle of chronic terror known by the name of "internal intervention", it is seen that a terror object can enter into conflict with the terror subject only when a third factor intervenes in the terrorist action and forms the backbone of the resistance action. In the structure of enlightened terror in the field of an internal conflict, this third factor consists of the public organs of the terror subject itself. It becomes their duty to create, through the effects of the propaganda action, such objective conditions as will give the resonant mass an opportunity to take up an active struggle with the opponent. These conditions are of an economic and political nature, and as such will not be discussed here.

The Methods of External Conflict

All methods of external conflict are called by the general name "disintegrating action", because this action is aimed at breaking up and disintegrating the opponent's gravitational field with the aid of the forces which exist within this field. All methods of disintegrating action, indeed all

methods of enlightened terror, are based on similar premises. . . .

By the term "gravitational field" is meant the internal sphere of influence of a given organization of persons. This organization may have various aims, especially governmental, but also including social, economic, and cultural. Thus there exists a governmental gravitational field of superior order, and within its framework the gravitational fields of subordinate organizations. As a result, both the form and the extent of the gravitational fields are varied. The form and extent of the gravitational field of the government are the largest and the most complicated, because this gravitational field unites all members of social, economic, and cultural institutions.

Every organization of persons, regardless of the scope of its activities, forms a certain situation of power, order, and government, which, in order to simplify the logical concept, will be referred to here as "the system". Any system means that the mass of the members (participants) of the given organization are divided into three groups. The characteristics of these groups are their various attitudes both toward the prevailing system and toward one another.

The first group includes the positivists. The members of this group are directly or indirectly interested in having the existing system continue to exist. They regard this system as their own and strive to strengthen it. Therefore, their psychological attitude toward the prevailing system is positive.

The second, and largest group, includes those who are indifferent. This group agrees to the fact of the existence of the prevailing system and subordinates itself to it, although its opinion concerning the value of the system may be different from that of the positivists. Thus the psychological attitude of this group toward the system is indifferent.

The third group includes the antagonists. They are against the prevailing order, are more or less indirectly interested in having the desired and planned changes carried out, and make an active effort to execute the changes. Thus their attitude toward the system is negative.

There are various reasons for the antagonism. The cause may be either envy or personal sympathies, or social, ideological, money, or class differences. The strength and the effects of antagonisms which are based on personal reasons may often be greater than the effects of antagonisms which develop from ideological considerations.

The structure of the gravitational field of the basic organizations of people is simple. The positive pole of the field is the group of positivists, who try to maintain the existing system and to combat oppositional efforts and tendencies. After the collapse of their organization this group may also represent the radical, or even extremist, opinions. . . .



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